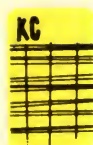


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New Mexico

Historical Review



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January, 1957

Editors

FRANK D. REEVE

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Associates

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FRANCE V. SCHOLDS

ELEANOR B. ADAMS

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

VOL. XXXII

JANUARY, 1957

No. 1

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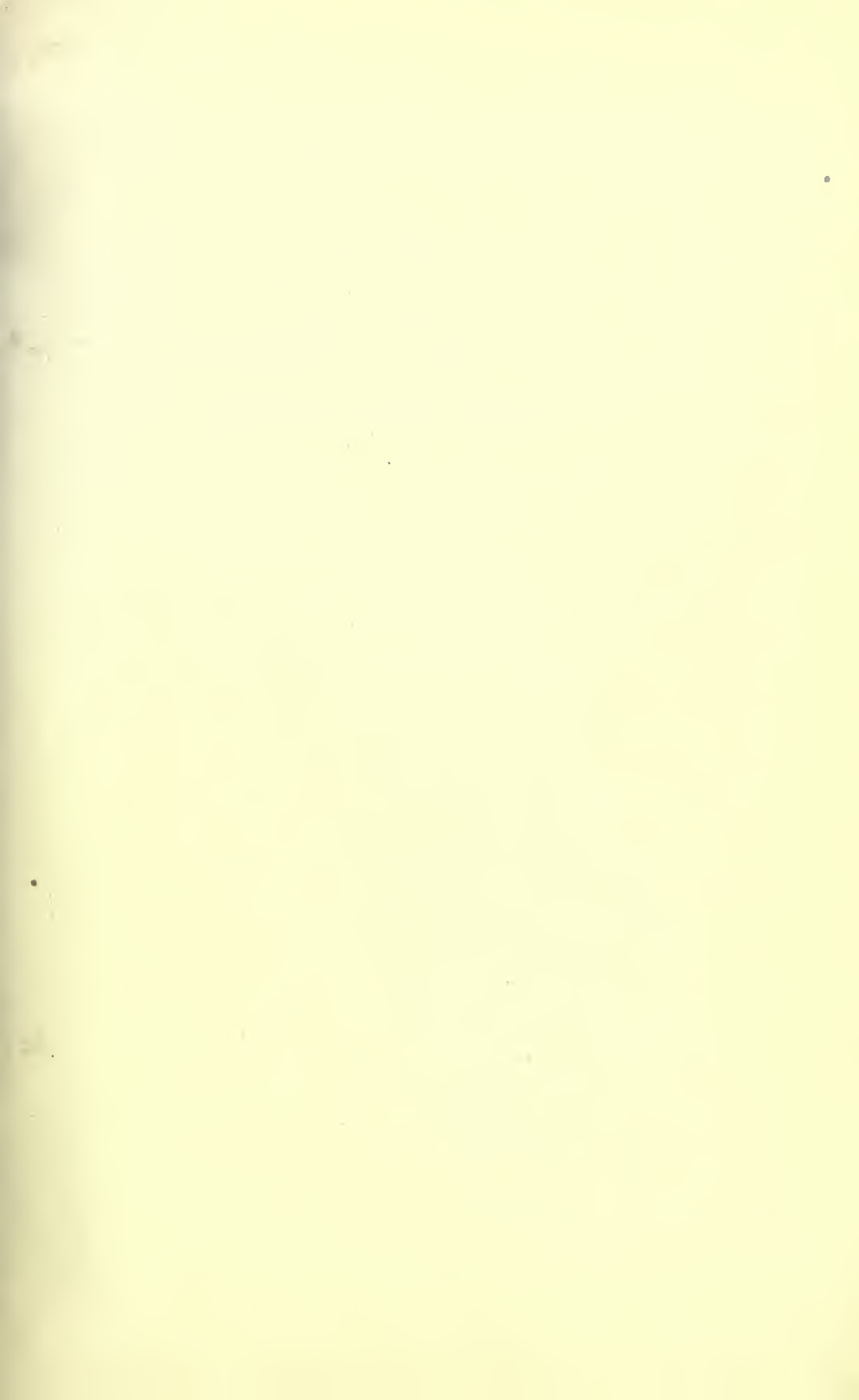
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Opening Ceremonies for

*State Highway Route 477 and
The National Monument Which it Will Serve*

Fort Union

Climaxing thirty years of efforts to preserve one of
the Southwest's outstanding historic sites.

June 8, 1956

10:30 a.m.

Program

Ross E. Thompson, President of Fort Union, Inc.
. . . . master of ceremonies.

Hon. Edwin L. Mechem, former governor, State of New Mexico
. . . . who sanctioned and helped organize Fort Union, Inc.

Andrew Marshall, Jr., Secretary, Union Land and Grazing Co.
. . . . representing the former owners of the Fort Union site who donated the
lands on which the fort is built, thus doing much to make the establishment
of the monument possible.

T. J. Heiman, Chairman, New Mexico State Highway Commission
. . . . representing the Commission.

Hugh M. Miller, Regional Director, National Park Service
. . . . representing the Park Service.

Hon. John F. Simms, Jr., Governor of the State of New Mexico
. . . . who will cut the ribbon, officially opening the highway to Fort Union.

Immediately following the ceremonies, guests and visitors may, if they wish, make a
tour through the Fort Union ruins.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXXII

JANUARY, 1957

No. 1

FAMOUS FUGITIVES OF FORT UNION

By ELMA DILL RUSSELL SPENCER*

FORT UNION in an early day played a prominent part in the defense of New Mexico against Indians and marauders, but its greatest claim to fame was during the Civil War when it saved the country from falling to Texas soldiers. As other forts were taken, the whole issue depended upon holding Fort Union, and it became the main outpost for military maneuvers. From those war years comes a little story of three noted Southerners once held there briefly, whose only crime, to quote Marshal A. C. Hunt, was "they loved their homeland." These patriots were Green Russell and his brothers, Oliver and Dr. Levi Russell, renowned pioneers of Colorado.

It was in November 1862 that a scouting party of Colorado Volunteers, commanded by Lt. George L. Shoup, apprehended a group of travelers near the Canadian River, apparently headed for Fort Smith, and took them back to Fort Union. A report by Lt. Shoup addressed to Capt. William H. Backus and dated December 1, 1862, now filed among Army records in San Antonio, Texas, gives a detailed account of the capture. It shows that the party was spotted, watched and followed, then captured with the aid of Indians bribed to help.

The Indians, sent to find out if they were traders, the number of their men and kind of arms, were told on no account to mention the soldiers. They returned with a note addressed to the chief of the Comanche Nation, signed Russell and Company, which in substance said they were a party

*Mrs. Richard French Spencer, 401 Wildwood Drive East, San Antonio, Texas.

of eighteen white men from Las Vegas, New Mexico, bound for Fort Smith.

The soldiers and Indians, now quite a number, were at a point on the Canadian River described as "about 250 miles below the mouth of Utah Creek." Here bluffs furnished an admirable place for concealing the men, as well as for pouncing upon these hapless travelers who, prepared for Indian negotiations, never suspected the presence of soldiers. Most of those arrested were trying to reach their homes in Georgia. They surrendered quietly, gave up their arms and possessions, and went peaceably with their captors. In his report, Lt. Shoup said of them: "The general conduct and behaviour of the prisoners after their capture was that of high-toned gentlemen. They made no attempt to escape. They all say that they had no intention of joining the Confederate Army, though the majority of them acknowledge that their sympathies are with the South."

The captives were searched, their papers and treasure of gold dust taken, but watches, chains and rings they were allowed to keep. Other possessions confiscated consisted, according to the official report, of "six double barreled shot guns, eight rifles, six revolvers, ten mules, ten horses, ten sets of harness, ten bridles, ten saddles, one side-saddle and five wagons." These effects sent to Santa Fe were acknowledged later by Major H. D. Whalen in a letter addressed to Capt. Plympton, commander of Fort Union: "I enclose you receipts for the Green Russell party from the depository for gold dust; from Capt. McFerran for animals and wagons; and from the Commanding Officer Ft. Marcy, for arms, etc. I will thank you to hand them to the parties interested."

Not much seems to be known generally about the capture of this party, nor its subsequent release a few months later, although five of those detained had been members of the famed Russell party of prospectors who in 1858 found gold on Cherry Creek in Colorado, and established the first town-site of what is now Denver, calling it Auraria after a gold town in Georgia near the Russells' home. The five members of this group held captive at Fort Union in 1862 were the brothers, Green, Oliver, and Dr. L. J. Russell, their cousin

James Pierce, and Samuel Bates, an old friend. Others listed among the captured party were: John Wallace, Robert Fields, James Whiting, A. S. Rippy, H. M. Dempsey, W. I. Witcher, D. Patterson, G. F. Rives, J. Glass, W. Odem, Isaac Roberts, J. P. Potts and family of six children, "the oldest a young lady about seventeen years of age," the report said.

The original Russell party of prospectors along Cherry Creek had numbered thirteen, and it was their discoveries in 1858 that inadvertently started a gold rush which opened up Colorado both to fortune hunters and home seekers alike. Every book on Colorado history, and even some guide books tell the story, often showing a picture of the leader, Green Russell. The favorite one taken from an old crayon likeness shows a most unusual "beard-do," for unlike his contemporaries whose generous beards fluttered in the breeze, Green's was worn in two neat braids stuck in his shirt front! At one time the name of Green Russell was blazoned forth in every press over the country. The exploits of his party are too well known to be told again here, but the Fort Union experience of these five men is little known, and can bear repeating. How did they come to be in this part of the country at this time, and why were they apprehended in Union territory as southern sympathizers?

James Pierce, one of the group, gave a vivid account some years afterward which appeared still later in a Colorado publication, *The Trail*, of May 1921. Pierce's version was quite different from Lt. Shoup's who was trying, it seems, to justify his use of Comanche Indians in tracking down travelers! Also, according to Pierce, Shoup's troop was made up in Colorado around Central City where most of the men had known the Russells, several had even worked for them in Russell Gulch. Pierce says Shoup "felt badly" over the Indian arrangement when he found out these were respected pioneers of Colorado, well known to his men.

Although Pierce's recollection of the capture is told graphically, the story as handed down in the Russell family is meager. Fort Union is named as the place of their detention, but little was said of their imprisonment or release, except it was brought about by influence of friends. Now,

nearly a century later, a granddaughter of Oliver Russell, in writing this article, and sharing what she has gathered, hopes it will elicit more information, both of the Russells and of Fort Union.

The Russells, a family of English descent, had lived in Georgia near Dahlonega, and the three brothers who were later to prospect in the West grew up in a mining district that had been the scene of the first gold rush in the United States. In 1828, the same year Oliver was born, gold was found three miles south of Dahlonega. Thirty years later Oliver and his brothers were to discover gold in the Rockies, and that was the year his eldest son, Dick, was born, an important date in the family annals.

Nearly a decade earlier before the Colorado discoveries, Green Russell, an experienced miner, had gone to California with another brother, John. That was in 1849. The next year he returned with the two younger brothers, Oliver and Levi, who were later to share his Colorado ventures. The three did well in California, returning to Georgia with substantial amounts of gold. It is hinted that Green on his earlier trips across plains and mountains might even have stumbled on to promising ore, for he firmly believed from then on that Colorado was a gold country, a belief which his later finds justified.

After the Cherry Creek discoveries in the summer of 1858, Green and Oliver had gone back to Georgia for men and supplies, leaving Dr. Levi Russell to hold their claims and erect a cabin, the first, in what was to be Auraria. Returning in the spring of 1859 the first news to greet them was of Gregory's strike up Clear Creek a few days earlier. It was not long before the Russells, too, made a successful discovery there near Gregory's, a few miles from the place that Central City would occupy. In a short time over nine hundred miners were working there in Russell Gulch, panning more than \$35,000 of "dust" a week.

Many other ventures were undertaken the next few years by the Russell brothers. The most ambitious one was the construction of a large ditch to bring in water for mining operations from Fall River twelve miles away. On account of

conflicting water rights, their company united with another concern, to become the Consolidated Ditch Company of which Green Russell was president. In about a year, at a cost of over \$100,000, the ditch was completed, and proved a great success.

In the meantime war clouds were gathering, tempers flared, and men in all parts of the country were taking sides, even as far away as Russell Gulch. As the situation grew more tense, the Southerners found themselves outnumbered by Union sympathizers. Even though they were peace loving, respected men in the community, it did not save them from the work of a rabble that cut their flumes at night and molested them generally. At one time it was necessary for the Marshal of the Territory, A. C. Hunt, to intervene in their behalf.

For all their activities in Colorado, the brothers had never brought their families out of Georgia, but had made several trips back and forth to visit them. When hostilities started and Georgia was in the thick of things, the Southerners found they were cut off from home, with things getting ever harder for them in Colorado. Early in 1862 Green Russell told James Pierce, his cousin, that they could no longer stand the insults that were being heaped upon them, and had decided to try getting back to their native state. Planning together a party of eighteen, including five of the original pioneers, they made up an outfit in Denver and in the guise of prospectors set out over the mountains to Georgia Bar on the Arkansas. From there the route taken lay through San Luis Valley to Fort Garland, on to Taos and Mora, and then Las Vegas. Their hope was to pick up the Santa Fe and Fort Smith road about twenty-five miles south of Las Vegas, which was an open line into Texas, called "the back door of the Confederacy."

Shoup's men were in the vicinity, but had gone down the Pecos, so the travelers reached the Canadian in safety, and might have succeeded in getting through had not a greater misfortune befallen them. At Taos, according to Pierce's account, they had allowed Ike Roberts to join the party. Though known as a somewhat doubtful character, he said he

was broke, and begged to go along. Objections were stifled and he was taken into the Witcher wagon, but they paid dearly for this kindness. In about four days Roberts came down with smallpox, most dreaded disease, that soon spread until half the company was afflicted. They were fortunate in having Dr. Russell to take care of the sick, although he had no vaccine and could only treat the cases after they developed. Several deaths occurred and the dead were buried on the plains. About this time they had fallen into Shoup's hands, and all but the extremely ill were taken on to Fort Union.

Among the smallpox victims was Mr. Potts, father of the six children, whose wife had died the year before in Colorado. Mr. Potts' body was buried before they reached Fort Union, and it was discovered that all the family's money had been buried with him as well. This left the children destitute, but they were shown great kindness at the Fort, and a purse of several hundred dollars was made up for them. The eldest girl, Martha, also received a proposal of marriage from Mr. Patterson, one of the party, which she accepted, and after their release went with him to settle in Huerfano County. Stories like this were best remembered later, for they were told again and again.

The Russells were held prisoners from their arrest November 4, 1862, until the release February 14, 1863, but the four months spent seemed to have been relatively pleasant ones. James Pierce said that a few days after their arrival they were put on parole of honor and allowed to go anywhere they chose within four miles of the fort. Their rations were good, they were in good, comfortable quarters. There were no charges against them, and they were considered political prisoners, not prisoners of war. This, however, gave them no chance to be exchanged or dismissed except at the will and pleasure of the government officially, so they did not know how or when their release would come. They received the kindest treatment from officers and men alike. Pierce praised Gen. James H. Carleton, Commander of the Department, particularly, who made a re-question of facts which was written out by the prisoners and forwarded to the War Department for instructions.

When the answer came that the General was to exercise his own judgment and do as he saw fit, both with the men and their effects, he immediately sent the conditions to the officers of Fort Union. If the prisoners would take the oath of allegiance to the United States they would be released, with their money and effects all restored to them; otherwise they would be held until the war closed. The terms were accepted gladly, and they were released at once. Such was Pierce's version of what he understood took place, but it may not have been as simple as Pierce recalls it. There is usually pressure needed to budge red tape, and make things move. Smiley, in his comprehensive *History of Denver*, telling of the capture and release, credits Marshal Hunt with befriending them and says: "Supported by the intercession and influence of the Russell brothers' Denver friends, who were certainly not of Confederate sympathies, (he) went to Fort Union, secured the release of the prisoners and had their property restored to them."

There may be other versions that will come to light about this little group of Civil War captives and how they gained their freedom, how they spent those four months at Fort Union, what the fort was like at the time, who were the friends that helped them. Since the prisoners were well thought of, well treated, and not strictly guarded, they could easily have appealed for outside help through men who stopped by the fort, men like Kit Carson, Cerán St. Vrain, and others, as was indicated by Benton Canon's article in the Colorado Magazine about the early settlers of Huerfano County.

Another thought, and one cherished by this writer, is that aid may have come through Masonic influences. Dr. Russell was an active Mason who helped establish December 10, 1858, at Auraria the first lodge in that whole western territory. At the time of their imprisonment, Chapman Lodge had but recently been founded at Fort Union where it was active until moved to Las Vegas in 1866. There has never been any mention of such aid, but it is not unreasonable to imagine that Masons would come to the rescue of their fellow members.

Returning to Pierce's account, he states that all of their possessions were restored to them, including the \$20,000 in gold dust that had been sent to Santa Fe and their horses that were on a ranch near Albuquerque, all of which Green and Oliver retrieved. Before they left Fort Union for Denver, a distance of about four hundred miles, the quartermaster, Capt. Bragg, furnished them supplies to last the journey. Col. Allen and Lt. Adkins who had been pioneers of Colorado also, and were now leaving the military service, joined them for part of this trip which took four weeks.

When they were back in Denver again the five original members of the old Georgia party remained together a week or so. Rather plaintively Pierce tells that when they separated it was the last time so many of them were ever to be together again, and said, "We parted near the place where we had camped in 1858." Of the five only two, Green and Oliver, tried again to make it back to Georgia. James Pierce and Dr. Russell went to Montana and Samuel Bates went back into the mountains.

Green and Oliver took the northern route home, and after many hardships and narrow escapes reached their families. That return trip is a story in itself, as is the subsequent history of the Russells. When they got to Georgia, Green equipped a company of soldiers for the Confederacy at his own expense which he commanded, Oliver serving as lieutenant. After the war the brothers all left Georgia and settled in other states.

It may have been the most fortunate thing in the world that the little group, arrested and detained at Fort Union, did not get into the Comanche infested territory of Texas at that time, for the red men were on the war path. They had been told at the fort that they could not have made it. Had the Russells in 1862 crossed the Canadian, they doubtless would never have survived for two of them to return and live out their lives in Texas. Dr. Russell went to Bell County and practiced medicine at Heidenheimer until his death in 1908. Oliver settled in Kimble County and engaged in ranching, later moving to Menard. Here he died October 28, 1906, and

is buried in the old cemetery. Three of his sons and a daughter still survive and live at Menard.

Green was the only one of the Russell brothers who ever returned to Colorado. With another party from Georgia he came in 1872 to Huerfano County, and was active there in ranching and mining, later moving into the Sangre de Cristo Mountains near Fort Garland. He made only one more trip to Denver, and that in 1875, in connection with the "Consolidated Ditch" business. A year later he sold all his claims and started back to Georgia, but got no further than the Indian Territory. There he died, August 24, 1877, and was buried at Briartown on the Canadian River.

None of the original Russells seem ever to have come back to New Mexico, but Fort Union was mentioned so often in family recitals that this one venturesome descendant set out last summer [1955] to find the place. It is in ruins, of course, and not accessible to the public, but the search did lead to many happy contacts with New Mexico people anxious to preserve the famous old fort as a national shrine. With its colorful history, its importance as an outpost that turned the tide of our nation's destiny in the West, it is entitled to its place in the sun.

This article, if it serves no other purpose, may stir up memories and bring out stories of the old fort and the people who once were there. Although it is the contribution of one who from infancy was cradled on Confederate glory, whose people fought for a lost cause, the author appreciates that strength came from unity in our land, no longer rent by fratricidal war and sectional prejudices, and hopes old Fort Union may long unite the hearts of those who love that land, particularly in the great Southwest which is such a glorious part of it.

THE APUNTES OF FATHER J. B. RALLIERE

By FLORENCE HAWLEY ELLIS AND EDWIN BACA

Introduction

FROM time to time in the Southwest, old papers from *los dias de cuanto hay* come out of the chests and boxes inherited by descendants or friends of native families who pioneered in this area. These documents may be of more importance to local and regional history than to national annals. But when placed in context supplied by records of larger events or by the memories of old timers, they provide the intimate picture of people, customs, and reactions which lend perspective to more important contemporary issues. Such a document is that containing the commentaries on some issues of special concern to Father John Baptist Ralliere,¹ pastor of the Tomé church and of the numerous *visitas* under its jurisdiction for fifty-three years.

In 1849, after New Mexico came under the control of the United States, the diocese of Santa Fe was separated from that of Durango. Jean Baptiste Lamy who had come from Claremont, France, to work in the parishes of Ohio and Kentucky, was selected to become first Vicar Apostolic of Santa Fe.

His bishopric covered New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, the peripheries being vaguely defined. In recognition of the primary need for religious workers, he first brought a group of the Sisters of Loretto to Santa Fe and then, in 1854, on a brief business trip to see the Pope, picked up what recruits he could in Italy and France. He returned to America with three priests and four seminarians from his old school in Claremont and a Spanish priest who had been a missionary in Africa.

In 1856 Bishop Lamy sent Father Machebeuf to France to recruit more missionaries. His appeal in the Seminary of

1. In making a point of identification with his parishioners, Ralliere used the English and Spanish forms of his given and middle names rather than the French form with which he was baptised. His *Apuntes* and letters are written in Spanish, with a rare slip into French.

Montferrand brought six seminarians, among whom was John B. Ralliere.

The lives to which these men went had little of ease, no matter in what corner of New Mexico. Apart from the local suspicions which must be allayed, conditions of life were harsh in the villages and a thousand times more so on the horseback and wagon trips which led them from *visita* to *visita* in their large parishes. Military escorts were the usual security against Indians in some areas; elsewhere the men were on their own. None were killed; all gained friends and some, as Father Ralliere, came to be considered almost as one of the saints by a large portion of his parishioners. Although his name rarely is found in print, his memory remains bright in Tomé, where he served from 1858 to 1911. At his death, forty-two years ago, four years after he had retired from the pulpit because of ill health, his body was buried in a homemade coffin of four boards beneath the rough wooden floor of his church.

A detailed diary from the pen of any one of the priests of the early American period could have provided invaluable data on the times. None had leisure for such a literary venture, although their letters and papers have contributed to history. Father Ralliere did keep a few pages of notations in diary form, but they consist only of names of persons or of items evidently intended to remind him of some matter. Fortunately, however, in his later years he set down a series of *Apuntes* or "Notes," of quite another type. The incomplete manuscript in which he recorded some of the local events occurring between 1872 and 1909 was found by Mrs. Felicitas Sedillo de Montaña of Tomé and kindly offered for the present translation and publication.² It was written between 1905 and 1909 in a fine hand, in Spanish (except for an occasional French word or phrase and the consistent use of the French article *le* in place of the Spanish article *el*), upon legal size paper. Some pages show lines ruled off before writing began.

2. Masses of letters and papers were burned after his death but Mrs. Montaña, who had worked in his household and whose brother, during most of his life, had been closely associated with Father Ralliere as his organist, saved the pages of this notebook as a memento.

In relatively few cases does the penmanship become so cramped that reading is difficult.

Certain parts are imperfect, the work of a man mortally tired and ill after a hard life of service. The events recorded were of major importance to Father Ralliere and, in part, to the village. How he chanced to begin these notes is unknown. It is said that in the latter days of his life he became somewhat crabbed and bitter, as he never had been earlier. This was the result of ill health and recurrent battles with some of his parishioners, which left him convinced that his long efforts and his ideal of aid to the community were not appreciated. The "Notes" seem to have been written for no purpose other than as a contemplation of past events in the writing of which he re-considered his own motives as well as those of others. One can hardly call it a matter of retrospection and self-justification for there is no evidence of a troubled conscience "explaining" to itself. One feels, instead, that here is a record of events just as he saw them and that if confronted with the same situations again he would react just as in the first instance.

It is clear that he was a very honest, sensitive, and intelligent person. His solutions to problems show clear thinking and ingenuity. If he seems to have been more resolute than tactful, it was because he was thoroughly convinced of the reason and rightness of his movements, a point in which his modern reader concurs. The difficulties which brought about these problems were those of typical Spanish individualism and competition. Until recently each farmer was almost the absolute master of his premises, for which he wrested what was needed from the environment or from others of the community. Distrust, thus bred, extended to the local priest who not only was likewise a farmer — and hence a competitor — but also, in this case, a representative of the conquering "Americanos" and hence perhaps desirous of despoiling the local peoples of lands or moneys. Tithing, dropped in New Mexico during the Mexican period at the pleas of Father Martínez that the populace could not afford such contributions, were re-imposed by Bishop Lamy through his priests. Their collection did not endear the regime to land-

owners. Father Ralliere always held a body of friends but frequently he also had enemies, a matter which puzzled him, and some men moved from one group to the other as their personal interests dictated.

Father Ralliere never was a passive man. The role of an energetic French priest in one of the oldest Spanish communities in New Mexico was not easy. His ultimate success appears in the tales of the old men of today, who remember that he was ever able to see the humor in any situation, that he had a *dicho* (saying) for every occurrence of daily life, and that through his leadership "He made labor sweet, inspired the desire for heavenly joy and glory, and earned the nickname "*Padre eterno*."

In Ralliere we see the idealist and something of that mercurial spirit which we are apt to attribute to Frenchmen; these were traits which endeared him to his friends among laymen and clergy. His enemies no doubt considered him both hot and hard-headed, even as he would have characterized them. He suffered most at their misunderstanding of his altruistic motives and positivistic concept of "right," but he never flinched from a position taken. We may think that he could have managed a smoother road to the successful outcome of many of his plans had he concentrated his understanding upon human relationships and the foibles of mankind as he did upon the more material needs of his parish, but this was not a part of his uncompromising nature. If his notes give something of an egoistic impression in places, one must remember that they were written without the veneer of proper modesty imposed by our culture when speaking of one's self to someone else. Here an old man re-lives, as something of a scrupulous self-judgment, his own actions, decisions, and intentions, and the problems which were their background in the periods of special stress in his life span.

Apuntes

[The start of Father Ralliere's *Apuntes* seems to have been a record he jotted down in 1905, the names of the priests who had attended the annual retreat of that year. He was

seventy-three years old at the time; the list may have been merely an aid to his memory].

Present at the Retreat, Aug. 21-25, 1905

Monsieur Bourgade, Monsieur Pitaval, Fourchegú — Vicar Besset — Plantard — Giraud — Vicar Delaville — Garnier (San Juan) — Jouvenceau (Park View) — Courbon Seux (San Juan) — Alverne Mariller (Rito) — Alterman (Santa Cruz) — Medina (Peñasco) — Garcia (Costilla) — Balland (Mora) — M. Ribera (Sapello) — Gilberton V. Thomas, Cooney (Raton) — Ceillier (Springer) — Lamerth — Splinters (Chiquito) — Gatignol (Anton Chico) — Casals (San Miguel) — Paulhan (Pecos) — Barrau (Sanatorium) — Derocher — Rabeyrolles (Santa Fe) — Coudert — Chas-sier — Docher (Isleta) — Juillard — M. Dumarest (Gallup) Picard (Belen) — Ralliere (Tomé) — Martin (Socorro) — Pelser (San Marcial) — Kriel (Monticello) — Girma (Lincoln) — Gauthier (Manzano) — Alf. Halterman (Santa Rosa).³

[Two years later, farther down the same page he noted the men with whom he had been in retreat that season]

Retreat 22 day of August 1907 —

Plantaro, Kriel, Martin, Picard, Docher, Juillard, Barrau, Seux, Hartman, Courbon, Alverne, Giraud, Pajet, Balland, Gilberton, Molinier, Cooney, Ceillier, Dumarest, Lamerth, Olier, Gatignol, Splinters, Moog, Paulhan, Fourchegú, Redon, Gauthier, Girma, Rabeyrolles, Alf. Halterman, Garnier, Castagnet, Deraches, Bertrome, Delaville, Pugens, Besset, Th. Vincent, Charnier — Absent Ribera, Pelzer, Poiyot, A. Jouvenceau, Medina

[The remainder of this page is left blank except for a sentence of memorandum at the bottom.

Aubrey made the trip from Kansas City to Santa Fe in 8 days. This was quick transportation in comparison with the weeks remembered for freighting by team or ox cart across the plains, the old system by which Ralliere had imported his

3. Ralliere in most cases wrote the names of the parishes which these priests represented in small letters; we have here capitalized and added parentheses. Most of these men are listed in J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 1898, p. 206.

church bells, organs for various chapels and individuals, and the few items of urban living which could be afforded.

On his next page, apparently written on January 11 or 12, 1905, Ralliere speaks briefly of rains and small floods, a matter of ever-watchful concern to residents of Tomé. On repeated occasions during his residence there, as well as before — and since (until flood control was given serious governmental attention in the early 1930's) — this town and others in the lowlands where farming was best were almost destroyed by freshets which overflowed the banks of the Rio Grande or broke through to form new channels. Adobe structures, so well suited to a dry climate, after several days of rain or of water at the foundations collapsed. While families fled to the hills or to other towns, their fields were torn, new swamps created, and animals drowned. The priest stayed with his people, holding services, encouraging them, and aiding in directing what repairs might be accomplished]

1905. On the 10, 11, of January sleet fell; for two days all the houses leaked frighteningly. The field was very damp, the roads very bad. On Dec. 3, 1904, other rain had fallen for a day. On the 8th of Oct., 1904, another for one day. The 29th of Sept., 1904 — In these two rains the river overflowed at Chicál [a farm area belonging to and just south of Isleta pueblo], at Bosque de Los Pinos⁴ [now known as Bosque Farms, just north of Peralta] at the place of Polidor Chaves, and at Valencia. 25 houses were under water and in danger of collapsing.

In the previous year there had been a drought terrible for farms, for cattle. The river dried up in March and afterwards ran at intervals.

In the year 1903 the river rose terribly in May, June, overflowed at Chicál and later dried up entirely.

The Plaza of Tomé so far has escaped [the water] but is seriously threatened by the river one mile to the north.

[Ralliere here breaks his record of floods to note the death of a friend]

4. Location of the *Fortaleza* (Fort) of early American and Civil war period. Here military escorts were available for the priests and other travelers going through Indian areas.

Father Noel Dumarest⁵ died the 13th of January in the Sanatorium of Albuquerque and was buried on the 17th in Peña Blanca (Rest in Peace) where he had been curate various years. 1905

At present [during flood of January, 1905] I stay in Peralta at the house of Aniceto Gurulé,⁶ Ofelia Griego — Eraclio de Pole [sacristan of Peralta church, a *visita* of the Tomé parish] moved to Albuquerque and returned to me the keys to the church. I had thought of closing the [Peralta] church but Margarita Toledo and Ofelia caught up with me and offered a house. [His own house was next to the church in the Tomé plaza.] It is the house which formerly belonged to Ofelia R. de Connelly, spacious. But now it is full. Here live Hilario Griego, Pilar Romero, Eliseo Griego, Lucinda Gurulé, Daniel Gurulé, Luz Cisneros, Jesus Gurulé of 80 years, Rafael Gurulé, and Margarita. They are near the house of their daughter, Francisca, the wife of Remigio Chaves. All of these people lost their houses in October [the *Cañada de la Cabra* flood].

How many houses I have moved between since 1872 when I began to offer mass in Peralta. The houses of El Negro Sanchez, Peregrina Luz Chaves, wife of Ambrosio Chaves, Manuel R. Otero, Pilar Romero, Lola Chaves, Juan Gurulé, Desiderio Gurulé, Josefa Cobos, Rafael Gurulé, Aniceto Gurulé.

[Father Ralliere again interrupts his account to note some details he has just recalled — or been given — concerning Dumarest.]

Noel Dumarest was born December 10, in Lyon — 1868 — he came to N.M. 1893 — ordained, he was lieutenant [assistant] to Rev. Father Redon — Anton Chico — Pastor at Peña Blanca — 1900 pastor at Springer — 1902 went to France — 1901 Chaplain of the hospital.

[The first lengthy account in the big Ralliere notebook written at intervals between July 29 (or perhaps began even

5. Well known among anthropologists for his small but valuable monograph on Cochiti Pueblo, edited by Elsie Clews Parsons from notes Dumarest recorded while stationed at Peña Blanca. Father N. Dumarest, "*Notes of Cochiti, New Mexico*," *Memoirs, Amer. Anth. Assoc.*, 6, Pt. 3, 1920.

6. Most of the persons here mentioned are represented by relatives in Tomé today.

earlier in the spring) and November 4, 1905, is neatly titled as an account of the last of the many disastrous floods which struck Tomé during Father Ralliere's years there. For his forthright actions in cutting ditches to drain some of the water back into the river, he paid a heavy price in the enmities of self-centered owners — over which he suffered much anguish — as well as an actual fine set by court action. This episode became one of the sorest points in the memories of his declining years, and touched his gay disposition with bitterness. It may also explain his concentration upon floods in these *Apuntes*]

THE RIVER FLOOD OF MAY 23, 1905

The legislation passed a law creating the River Commission. For this group members were Abran Kempenich and Bernardino Cedillo. In March "burros" [levies] were built in Chicál, in Bosque de los Pinos, in Los Chavez, in Valencia, in Tomé, and in La Constancia. For some years the river has been eating away the banks at San Fernando towards the east. About ten years ago [erosion] carried away the acequia. A "burro" was built which the river carried away, and then another which Don Guillermo Chavez supervised and the town constructed it at my own insistence and re-formed and strengthened it. It held the river for several years especially during the height of the flood of Sept. 27, 1904. When the river broke through [its banks] at four points north of Tomé, this "burro" did not break, thanks to the care of the people. In March 1905 Bernardino made another "burro" further down [south] of ten yards width at the base and five on top, of solid sod blocks — very good — carried in the arms [of the people].

Several of the principal men were opposed to this tremendous task, thinking it better to reinforce the old "burro" farther north but thanks to God Bernardino went ahead with his idea. The gentlemen mentioned in fact brought about great harm by asking adjournment to sow their wheat. This was the cause of Bernardino reducing the width of the "burro" and when the river [flood] came to the "burro" José

Baca who was deputy commissioner lost precious time widening the "burro" where it was not thick enough. The river reached the "burro" on Saturday, May 20, and all the people of Tomé, some 80 men, last Sunday, the 21st, [were] digging up mud and sods from beneath the water. Above [farther north] the river was eating away [the land]; it took the acequia, a "water check," then another, and it flowed along a little valley at La Casa Vieja, the old house of Don Bartolomé Baca, Governor of New Mexico. Then very late on Monday, the 22nd, they thought of making a "burro" to await [meet] the flood water, but they did not build it high or wide enough and they abandoned it. On Tuesday, the 23rd at 7 in the morning when the people thought to strengthen the "burro," the river was on its way humming [in swift current] towards Tomé. Twenty men came from Casa Colorado to help, a useless trip. They waited in a group in front of the house of Santos Barela, to divert the course of the current. They opened the drainage ditch of Tavalopa. José Baca went out to break the lateral ditch of Toribio Archuleta and F^{co}. Salazar but did not dare do it because Catalino Montaña opposed him because he (Montaña) did not want to lose his wheat [from flooding]. When I learned of this, seeing that all this water would come and cover the plaza, that it needs must drown the church and all the houses, I went at noon and had three openings made which [soon] became immense gulleys which will be seen for many years. The rest of the water leaped upon Jerusalem, Tavalopa,⁷ and felled or at least flooded about 25 houses [belonging to]: Santos Barela, [Doña] Felipa — Miguel Perea Projedes — Celestino Marquez, Daniel Lucero, house of Jose Chiquito — Antonio Montaña — Celsa — Estevan Cedillo Ana — Ruperto Perea Natividad — Juan Perea Ofelia⁸ — Maria wife of deceased Querino Perea — Francisco Perea Juana — Lorenza — Juan Marquez Rebecca — Ignacio Varela Eulalia — Juan Lujan Merced — Juan Lujan Jr. — Maria Castillo — Nicanor Zamora Seferina — Jose de Jesus Piedad — Antonio Saiz Ade-

7. Ralliere's humorous designation of outlying "suburbs" of Tomé. The northwest section he called "Tavalopa." The southeast section was "Jerusalem."

8. J. B. R. in this list mentioned the first name of a wife after the first name and surname of husband. Ex.: Juan Perea Ofelia refers to Juan Perea and his wife, Ofelia.

laida — Jose Baca Maria Jaramillo — Octaviano Baca Carmelita — Francisco Salazar Nestora — Toribio Archuleta Lugarda — Francisco Otero Estefana — Amada Barela, Margarita.

By night Manuel moved his family [which now] cooks in the house which he bought from Nicolas Baca, husband of Climaca. I stayed with Proceso in order to say mass next day and to take out Our Lord. All night long Daniel Lucero, Pancho Salazar, Ricardo Enriquez, Manuel Salazar, and Jemenez, Laureano Jaramillo walked around with lanterns watching the progress of its water in my fenced-in land. In the morning a current of water was flowing at the foot [of the wall] of my school house and at the east of the convent, without reaching the foundation of the church nor of the convent. There was considerable dry patio to the west of the convent, and dry also was the shady lane under the poplars to the east. The drainage ditch of my fields held back much water and made it run along the highway which became an arroyo impossible for travel.

I spent 47 days in the foothills. It was Tuesday when the river entered. I stayed at home [that day] to say mass and to take out Our Lord. At midnight Manuel Torres arrived, he awakened me saying: What are you doing here? By morning there will not be a dry spot on which to hitch the horses. But it was as I predicted, the patio was dry. Rosita took advantage of the time to clean her house. She fixed for me [in the foothill community] a very clean room, very cool, with a good view to the south. I visited all the neighbors in Cerro and those who had fled there [from the flood], among these Jose Baca Maria, Juan Cedillo Teresa — Quirino and his son Julian Amanda — Antonio Montaña Celsa, Santos Barela Felipa — Nicanor Zamora Seferina — Adelaida and Antonio Saiz — Amado Barela Margarita.

Each day I visited my ranch⁹ where José de la Luz Barela de Maria Jesus lives — old like myself. I sowed 25 pounds of alfalfa and thought to sow another 25 pounds near the garden. But water did not run in the Cerro acequia. The first

9. Close to Cerro, a suburb of Tomé near the base of Cerro de Tomé, the volcanic hill which marks the north end of the Tomé land grant.

three weeks Manuel lost. Every day he went to the plaza to feed the farm animals and the chickens and he stayed all day. On the last Sunday of May should have been [the date for] the 40 hour devotion. Of course nothing took place. On the Sundays when mass should have been given in Tomé I offered it among the trees [at the home] of Jose Cedillo. Here I gave the mass for rain. I held Corpus Christi at Casa Colorado on Thursday, June 22; in Valencia, the day of the mass of water [June] 24; in Peralta, Sunday the 25th. On week days I gave mass in the little parlor of our house. They played and sang hymns at mass each day — Clotilde, Teresa, Quirina, Celsa, Serna, Guadalupe Varela — here we finished the month of Mary [May]. On June 10 we returned to the plaza after 47 days. The plaza was very dry. The 9th day of July was 20 D^{oo}. In the morning I went to Valencia. On my way back I visited all Tavalopa and *Bella Vista* where all had returned from Cerro. I arrived at home at three in the afternoon. They called me for a confession at Picuris [in the Peralta foothills]— 30 miles that day at a trot [of my horse].— Twice I opened discussions concerning draining the stagnant waters in Tavalopa and later I was not able to find a soul. The day when Julian Zamora thought of doing a little work, then Ramon Otero built the Camino Real [highway] and made the drainage impossible. This water makes all the houses of the town very damp and even now, July 29, this dampness is eating the walls of my house. Manuel repaired the new corral. The south wall was weakened since the rains, and he was able to pen all the horses as usual. There is no other corral in all the town except for the rear corral of Juan Salazar. For a month no one stayed in the plaza [center of town] except Pancho Salazar and Daniel Lucero. The water came up to their doors. Some people stayed on the other side of the acequia and at Cerro and in Ranchos. Celso Salazar made a "burro" just north of his place and [thus] saved his house.

I have not mentioned above that during Holy Week, April 22, from Saturday until Monday, it rained so much that there was not a house which did not leak. I had one free corner in my room near the cabinet where it was dry, except for a drop which fell on my chest. I spread out my cape and that

kept the bed dry. My people [those of the big household] slept in the grain bin. On Easter Sunday I hardly was able to say mass at the altar of Mary. Don Manuel Salazar y Jimenez says it was not the river which made his house crumble but the rains. I completed ten months of traveling on horse back. It was impossible to travel by buggy. [People] walked on the [adobe] walls.

Now before the fiestas I am putting a *pretil* (firewall) all around [the top of] my house. The dampness penetrated the walls because the house lacked *pretiles*. Not the church, for it had *pretiles*, but in the center where there was more earth [on the roof] it leaked more. I had to pay 30 dollars for breaking the *acequia* of Toribio and of Francisco Salazar and for the wheat of Catalina and Francisco Salazar 20 dollars. Daniel Lucero helped me with ten dollars. Even then Francisco Salazar threatened me with a suit. He saw [spoke to] E. Sanchez who wrote to me. But I sent Toribio to him and he informed [advised] him better and it seems that all is ended. It was Antonio Salazar who spoke to the lawyer.

I got five wagon loads of alfalfa from my fenced land. But I have a large amount of grass [hay] from the *rinconada* lands and from the swamps of Manuel and Julian Torres. But I think that much may be lost because of the rain today, November 4, 1905.

Many people attended the Fiesta. Daniel Lucero was the *majordomo*.

[This concludes Father Ralliere's notes for 1905. Some months later he took up his pen to complete the page]

May 10, 1906. I had to buy alfalfa [because of flood damage in 1905]. Some people gave me hay, among these Jesus Sanchez and José Torres. I bought corn. I plowed all of the Cerro land. My neighbors helped with more than twenty teams of horses. Now the land is sowed with wheat, alfalfa, oats. I plowed hills in the Rancho del Cerro land and sowed alfalfa with oats, also that portion of the vineyard which I dug up. [Now] the vineyard of grapes is fenced, a little smaller, but I mended 600 breaks. This makes a vineyard of 2100 vines. I made a dozen vats of wine. I sold 7 vats and the others I gave to the chair-men. I have drunk nothing.

This year already [spring] a part of the grapes have been frosted. Everyone has returned to Tavalopa.

[The second section of the *Apuntes*, penned in 1906, covers others of the old Tomé problems and intrigues, providing a close-up of late 19th century village life. It opens with an account of the most famous and disastrous of the Tomé floods, as Father Ralliere remembered it. This was]:

THE RIVER FLOOD, 1884 [written June 7, 1906]

The river broke forth at Chicál and in three days struck Tomé. We made a mistake. No "burro" was built east of the plaza. Don Juan Salazar y Jimenez, who commanded the people, knew that in 1828 the river broke in, [when] he was ten years of age, and he saw the "burro" which saved the plaza from the current. All he did was to send men to Cerro, so that the "burro" which these poor people were building was broken because he would not return to his work. On May 31 we all went to the hills in the Rinconada¹⁰ area where I stayed two months on a miserable ranch with Andres, Agapito, Juan Gomez, and Maria Jesus. I took all my things, not knowing if the house and church would be destroyed if the river should inundate all. Another day dawned, the day of Pentecost, I offered mass. I used the big church organ for an altar, and when I tried to speak to the few people who were in the room we all broke forth wailing. I made a boat in which I was able to navigate from the Constanacia acequia to the door of my house. I had a red speckled stallion; we hitched him to the boat and with no work he would take us from one point to another, the distance of a mile. By boat it was possible to go around the square of the plaza, the way of the [church] procession. All the people went to the hills, camping under the cottonwoods. In those days there were only a few houses in Cerro. During the first days Mr. John Becker came to visit me and offered me ten sacks of flour which I distributed to the people. This taught me not to again accept management of provisions when they were arrived [were given]. Indeed I saw that I did not really know the people. Mr. John Becker saw me so sad and depressed that he invited

10. Sand hill area east of Tomé on edge of valley, somewhat higher than the town.

me to go to Belen. I went as far as Constancia.¹¹ On seeing the river so high I was afraid to cross it. Mr. Becker pressed me to write to Belen merchants, or to [other] rich people. I did so on small cards which I handed to him. Lyns and Dankner sent something, but Don Felipe Chavez wrote me only a lot of free advice and sent not one pound of flour. Aid soon arrived from Bernalillo (Rev. Parisius), from Santa Fe (Rev. Defouri), from Las Vegas (Rev. Coudert). A part of the supplies arrived in Belen and these were brought across by Don Enrique [?] to his house and the rest arrived at Isleta Switch and I sent for them and left them at the house of Don Jesus Sanchez y Aragon, the Justice of the Peace [at Valencia]. The people were not content with the distribution. On the contrary there was even an article in an eastern newspaper saying that the priest of Tomé had kept the provisions for himself, signed by Thomas Harwood. I met the man on a train and I showed him a receipt for ten sacks of flour bought by myself from Alfonso Gingras, and another for 25 fanegas¹² of wheat which I bought from the Belen priest, proof that I had not been dependent upon the relief supplies. "Oh," said Harwood,—(it was not the old man but his son)—"It was your own people who have said this." It seems that Pablo Jaramillo composed a poem telling of the distribution of the relief supplies and he narrowly escaped a sound beating [from irate neighbors]. Pablo promised to send me a copy of that poem [but never did]. I am writing this on the 7th day of June, 1906.

I bought some beans for distribution; they were white beans. They arrived a little late. I did not collect the tithes. This was the end of the period for tithes and [customarily] produced a large part of the tithes. I do not lament my son's illness so much [Ralliere refers to the mean act of Pablo Jaramillo]; that which I lament is the evil habit which remains.—D. Francisco Manzanares sent one hundred dollars to J. G. Chaves for the poor, but when he saw the behavior of the people he returned that amount to Manzanares [he

11. Constancia is a village a few miles south of Tomé, where Manuel A. Otero, wealthy and important in New Mexico politics, had his hacienda and flour mill.

12. A fanega is 125 pounds.

took it back]. But I sent to him saying that he might give the money to me for putting a [rough] wooden floor into the church [where there had been only a clay floor], and thus it was floored with the added help of D. Telesforo Jaramillo and my money. At that time I gave mass on Sundays in the chapel of the Sanchez family (one mass), and in the house of D. Clemente Chaves. The mass concerning rain [I gave] beneath a cottonwood near Rinconada. I have mentioned above that the people of Cerro were building a "burro" to prevent the waters from entering; finally, one windy day the water jumped the top of the "burro" and flooded as far as the wheat field of Crisolojo Aragon, and threatened my own vineyard. It was Saturday evening. I sent to ask for help from all who lived in the foothills. I had to [go to] offer mass in the Sanchez chapel. When I returned I found many workmen building a "burro" and making a cut, and in the evening they were still working. I ordered all the tortillas in the houses, with coffee, to be collected to give strength to the workers, and this they were able to finish and the river did not come in below. They said that Crisolojo had blasphemed [because the cut made to drain the waters had ruined his field]. He told me it was not so. The fact is that a little later he jumped in to bath in a pool behind the Cerro and he did not come out, and they could not get his body until another day, with great effort. [Some villagers believed this an act of supernatural justice.] On that day I had a visit from the Frenchman [Emile] Dubois and from Father Martin of La Jolla. Another visitor whom I received various times at the Rinconada was Father Benavides from Manzano.

The river destroyed the channels behind the Cerro [to the north], made a marsh of 22 feet deep. We cut another irrigation ditch to the east as far as the lands of Francisco Orona. In other years we abandoned the acequia to the west which we had dug in 1865 as far as the ranch of Mariano Vigil until we joined the acequia of Bernardino Cedillo — which we had abandoned in favor of one which connected with that of Constancia and in the end we joined that of Bernardino, with check [box] by the Chaves [ranch] and intake at Isleta — the Acequia which runs the mill of the Romeros.

HISTORY OF "THE BATTLE OF THE CHARCOS," MARCH 1877

When Father Luis Benavides took my place in 1869-70 [while Father Ralliere made a trip to Rome] he baptised Tomé with the name of "Charcos City" [the city of stagnant pools]. There was one putrid lake to the south of the house of Don Romulo Salazar and another smaller one at the north of the house of Francisco Salazar. In 1877 I decided to fill these pools by means of [deposition of] the silt carried in the water of my drainage ditch. When Francisco Salazar sold his house to Manuel Salazar y Baca, the latter gave me permission to drain my muddy water into the pool, which Francisco never had wanted to permit, and soon with the dissolved mud the little putrid lake was [filled and] dried. For the other it was more difficult. I requested a people's meeting from the Judge, Laureano Jaramillo, which was held March 8 in a house later destroyed by the river and now rebuilt by Daniel Lucero in 1906. I had no more than spoken of putting the drainage of my ditch into the stagnant ponds when Don Juan Salazar halted it and made a "Speech" to the people, saying: We were created in the pools, If we are pulled into the high lands we will die — they would get rid of my lands. We had to dig a trench to the arroyos to drain off the putrid water of the stagnant ponds and the water of the ditch but he said that if they dug a trench from the hills by means of it the river would enter. The town was working for [had been coached by] Don Juan Salazar and applauded all this great nonsense. Laureano took the floor and said: I know well why Don Juan does not want us to dig a ditch; it is because he has across his place a "burro" so that he can use the drainage of the priest's ditch to irrigate his pasture land. "Lies," said Don Juan and they would have gone into a fist fight if they had not been separated. "Let us go," said Don Juan then and all got ready to go. I said to them: "You are a group of ill-bred people, you are in a meeting and neither the judge nor the president has dismissed you." "An apology," said Don Juan, but with all the people and the apology they left and only a half dozen men remained. "Well, thus it is," said Don Manuel A. Otero who was the president of the meeting (the

meeting was held on a porch). "Thus it is and there is nothing we can do." "Why not?" I then said, "Now we can do better. Do you want to? Do you want to?" I spoke, directing my words to those who remained present: Don Manuel A. Otero, Don Romulo Salazar, Jose Jaramillo, Laureano, Jose Baca, Antonio Salazar. "Yes, yes." "In that case, now we will have our own meeting in the room [inside the house]. There we determined to dig the trench on the 14th of March, 1877. They named workers to go to cut through the "burro" of Don Juan Salazar so that the water could escape and the land become dry.

And thus it was done. I also went to see the dyke cut, but for my own motive, not to watch.

On another day Don Juan Salazar came to my room and asked me: "Who has cut my acequia?"

I answered him, "I have."

He called the acequia his because he had built a ridge to make it appear that he took the water from the arroyo, which of course was not possible.

"Are you not going to repair it?" he said to me.

"No."

"There will be dead people here," [he threatened.] He carried in his hand a live-oak club.

"Then kill me at once."

But perhaps he did not want to, as he threw his club on the floor.

"You obstructed my drainway with your acequia."

"Your acequia never had a drainway." \

"I am surprised that you say this now. At one time you defended this drainage ditch."

And he said to me: "It is not the first time that I have suffered from your unjust things. There are two points which you will have to explain in another place." And with this he left.

I went into the church and wept to see that a thing so simple and so beneficial had caused such a great revolution in all the town.

Later I went to tell all to Don Romulo Salazar and Antonio. Don Romulo saw me in such affliction that he resolved to study some plan to remedy everything. He went out to

look for Don Juan on his land and although angry with him he begged an interview at once. He said to him something like this: "Why do you fight, compadre, with the priest?"

"Oh, I do not want to fight. Well, let us see if the priest will install a water-passageway for my acequia."

"Then let us go to the house of the priest."

I agreed to putting in the water-passage and all was finished!

— It was on a Friday in Lent; after the stations of the Cross we hitched up a wagon and we went, I, Don Romulo, Don Antonio, and Jose Jaramillo to Constancia to relate everything to Don Manuel Antonio Otero. He said: "How well you did in coming here at once. After I came home from the meeting, my courage [anger] boiled," and he showed us a gun which he carried in his pocket. And he had ordered his clerk, [in his store] Alfonso Gingras, to keep an axe handle upon the counter to deal a blow at the "nutshell" of the first who should say anything.

With all this two years passed without my visiting the house of Don Juan Salazar because he had not explained his words to me — "It is not the first time that I have suffered from you in unjust matters." Don Romulo brought us together and Don Juan said "One in anger says many things which one can not prove."

Now it was Lent. All the people of Tomé had been behaving badly. They did not go to confession because of anger or shame. I wrote to Father Baldassare S. J., to come and confess my rebels. He came with Father Afranchino S. J. While there they helped me with the fiesta of Saint Joseph, March 19. They stayed ten days in Tomé hearing confessions (500 went to confession). All is well that ends well.

Before this, on the 14th of March, the drainage canal was dug to the arroyas. There were sixty volunteer workers who came. It carried the muddy water and in a few years, without [ill] feeling, the lake was filled with silt.

DIFFICULTY WITH DON JOSÉ JARAMILLO

In the year 1869 José Baca traded me a piece of land in the lake area of Rinconada for a piece of land on the other

side of the road to the west of my fenced land. And this fellow gave to Jose Jaramillo this same land [in exchange] for another to the west of the acequia. The land which he transferred to Jose Jaramillo was traversed by my drainage ditch and by "burros"—dykes—. In January of 1871 Jose Jaramillo began to close [fill] the ditch pretending that I had sold it because I had not listed exception or reservation in the sale. I could not make him understand that the acequia was a property separate from the land. He assured me that I really had sold it to him and proved it because [on the basis of] Macho, my mayordomo, abandoned [ceased using] the Tomé acequia in 1870. It was abandoned because he wanted to, because the Tomé acequia was dirty and clogged. Moreover, I was not here that year; I was on the trip to Rome. And Nacho [nickname for Ignacio; also used in address, as one might use "Bud"] decided it would be well to dig an acequia from the Arroyo where later Francisco Salazar dug an acequia to enter the acequia of San Fernando. I went to see a lawyer, Bonifacio Chavez. He counceled me to again forbid Don Juan Salazar [from filling the acequia]. This I did. But it was useless. I went to Don Juan Salazar to convince him but could obtain nothing but insults from him. He made me waste my money in court for something so clear. One day while entering the church for mass I thought of seeing Don Manuel Antonio Otero. I told my sacristan, Estevan Zamora, that he should speak to this gentleman and request that he come with him. Being informed of the question by Don Juan Salazar, he did everything possible to make Jose Jaramillo drop his idea, but it was useless. Then Don Manuel Antonio Otero stood up in anger and said: "Well, let us fight, and the padre shall not fight alone, understand that the lands which are irrigated by these acequias belong to the church. And we have to defend the property of the church, I and all the town."

"Oh, I will not fight with so many," said Jose Jaramillo, and the problem was ended.

But the feeling remained with me and on Feb. 1871 when his daughter Marieta married Jose Baca, and Jose Baca, the elder, and Jose Jaramillo came to invite me to the feast I did not want to go.

June 21, 1906

SUIT WITH DON MANUEL ANTONIO OTERO
CONCERNING THE ABUNDANT WATER OF PERALTA

In the year 1877 began my difficulty, which was not mine alone but that of many who relied on the excess water [drainage] from Peralta to irrigate their farms. In the year 1869 Manuel A. Otero started a mill and his house in La Bolsa, which he named Constancia. He prevented us from [taking water for] irrigating so that his mill would grind. He had his people who worked the acequia all the way from La Constancia to Cerro, clear to the mill. Among these was Don Clemente Chaves and his son Guillermo. In 1877 I wrote him a letter intended to make him see the injustice of his procedure. Here began the displeasure. I find in my papers that in December of 1877 he did not want to pay his tithe [to the church] but then he suffered the attack [of illness] and the next day he sent the tithe. On February 14, 1877 his wife had died, Doña Dolores Chaves, sister of Don Felipe Chaves. Her body was brought here from Washington. Don Manuel had little time to live. He died March 1, 1882. His son Manuel B. Otero was killed in Estancia by a bullet which cut the vein in his neck the 19th of August 1883.¹³

In 1879 Manuel A. brought charges against Ponciano Otero, José Luna, Romulo Romero because they had taken *his* water. Against me he did not bring charges. They went to see Col. Francisco Chaves¹⁴ so that he might defend them. I too [went along] and more I offered to pay all the costs of the suit, confident that my friend Col. Chaves would defend us without charging me because he liked doing some harm to his brother-in-law Manuel A., whom he despised. I have a letter from Antonio Jose Luna dated March 15, 1879, inviting us to an interview in his house so that I and Manuel A. might settle things. I said to him: "Let us work [the acequia] and we shall have water for irrigation and for milling." "No, for this water is mine." And in effect he had bought the water from the mill of his brother Antonio José Otero; he had

13. See previous paper by F. Ellis in *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 30 (1955).

14. Famed New Mexico lawyer and legislator, resident of Peralta. His commission came from the U. S. Army.

[also] paid for the water of the other acequias of Peralta and Valencia.

Important letter. Father Paulet¹⁵ came to me in December 1877, very frightened. He had been in his house in Belen with Dr. Ross when a man opened the door and threw in a letter. No one knew who the man was. The letter was written and signed by Manuel A. Otero and read thus: Rev. Father Gasparri, Socorro (he was there preaching a mission). As I have put all my confidence in you I beg that on your return trip from Socorro, you will stop at my house for me to tell you of a very delicate matter concerning Father Ralliere.

We were not able to explain how this letter came to be written. I saw Father Gasparri in Los Lunas on his return from Socorro and he told me that he had not received such a letter. That same day I was with Don José Abran and I spoke to him about the letter in secret, but in reality so that he would go to tell his brother Manuel A. This same afternoon Manuel A. came to a baptism and after the baptism I told him that Father Gasparri had sent word that if he had anything to say against Father Ralliere he should say it to the Bishop. Manuel A. wanted to prosecute those who had opened his letter but he could not find where they were. Father Paulet and Dr. Ross had determined to burn the letter. At that time I had my suspicion but I was very careful not to discuss the matter. What I believe is that Father Benito Bernal by error opened the letter and seeing that it concerned me wanted to do me a service by giving me word in this manner. The letter had the date of December 1, 1877.

In the spring of 1879 Manuel B. Otero married Eloisa Luna. I went to the wedding and made a speech at the supper. As I took leave Don Benito Baca [son-in-law of Manuel A. Otero] took my hand and said to me: "Thanks for your speech." Father Gasparri also had made a speech in the church and he received no such thanks. Earlier when Father Gasparri asked who would prepare for publication an account of the wedding Benito Baca said to him dryly: "I will do it." But Benito who had suffered much fatigue uselessly trying to

15. Parish priest of Belen for thirty years. He was one of the group of religious brought from Europe to New Mexico in 1854.

be named a candidate in the Democratic party became ill in La Constancia, died, and was buried the day of June 23, 1879 in the cemetery of Tomé in a monument of stone.

Before this as I had made no settlement with Manuel A. Otero on the purchase of a plot for the grave of his wife, Dolores Chaves (ten feet by twenty) I wrote him [urging] that he donate a bell to the parish of Tomé. He answered me without date (it was in the year 1877) : The history of Manzano (Manuel A. was the one who gave the people of Manzano the bell which they have at present) and many other stories of no great distance are sufficient proof to me that I should not throw away my money by ringing into the wind. Upon my heart I feel that I can not do for this parish that which I have desired. (Do not say that I have blemished it.)

He was angry over the prospect of the suit concerning the acequia. The battle was started by Doroteo Chavez removing the check dam on the Cerro acequia August 4, 1879. Father Paulet came to see me during this month proposing a settlement. I did not want to deprecate his good services and so I proposed that he should talk to Don Clemente Chaves. He wrote him a letter asking him to come to my house. . . .

[Here a page is missing from the *Apuntes*. Evidently the problem of payment for graves and the suit concerning water use, both involving the powerful Otero family, became so hot that Father Guerin¹⁶ wrote the archbishop asking that he settle the matter. The letter making this request later came into the hands of Father Ralliere, who copied it. Its concluding paragraphs appear at the top of the next page of his notes] :

. . . dollars (For 130, padrecito) for the burial of Benito Baca. This I think is enough to let rest in quietude the bones of this lamented young man. They talk in Las Vegas of going to dig up this body and taking it to their area in order to close this sad question. Your bishopric has all

16. Rev. John Guerin came to New Mexico on Lamy's trip for missionary aids, 1854, as a young deacon and was ordained priest in Santa Fe on Dec. 23rd of that year. He was parish priest of Mora when he died in 1885. Salpointe, *Op. cit.*, p. 207. The location of Father Guerin in Mora, whence came the letter, and Ralliere's statements in his paragraphs following this letter made the authorship quite certain, even though no signature is recorded on the portion preserved in these notes.

the authority to stop this business, sustained by the most mortal enemy of the church, the famous Francisco Chaves. A single word from your bishopric does away with these quarrels. I am of the opinion that the quicker your voice is heard the better.

Mora, Dec. 28, 1879.

[Benito Baca came from a prominent Las Vegas family and the contention over what should be paid the church after the funeral by the wealthy family into which he had married was not understood by his old friends to cover recompense to the church for the grave of Manuel A's first wife, as well. For bells, floors, etc. to go into the various churches he served, Father Ralliere was dependent upon the contributions and payments of the more wealthy parishioners. He put the major portion of his own funds into the church and community improvements, including the school he built and taught in Tomé and for which he also provided other teachers so that everything from English to instrumental music could be offered. The matter of opposing the Otero family over water rights — in which the priest felt he was acting on the side of absolute right and for those of his parishioners who were being deprived by the powerful family — openly affected the previous friendly relationship between Manuel A. and Ralliere, and hence — the priest felt — their generosity regarding funeral payments to the church. Father Ralliere boiled not only at the rebuke indicated for his own actions but also because his friend Francisco Chaves (whom the letter-writer did not realize was generally opposed to his brother-in-law, Manuel A) was pointed out to the archbishop as a "mortal enemy of the church." Moreover, the forthright Ralliere obviously felt that Guerin had been hypocritical. Still seething when he wrote his notes thirty-one years later, he set down several paragraphs on this matter]

The mortal enemy. Father Guerin was at my fiestas of Sept. 8 once when Archbishop Lamy and Col. Chaves were here. I began the speeches, saying: Señor Archbishop, Col. Chaves has done me various services, [and in return] I have promised to pardon one half his sins. His excellency [the archbishop] will see if the other half may be forgiven. From

here on Col. Chaves proclaimed himself a Catholic and Father Guerin made friendly gestures to Col. Chaves. Afterward they wrote to each other as good friends.

I had in Santa Fe two good friends, Father Truchard,¹⁷ vicar, and Father Francolon.¹⁸ Father Truchard gave us his picture in 1897 and he was pleased when all the clergy felicitated him and was complimented when I pleaded with him not to leave. He wanted to go because the parish of Santa Fe had been taken away from him. I have various letters from him which prove the interest he had in me. I have a letter of four pages of large paper from Father Francolon, showing the same interest. He was the one who kept safe for me the letter of Father Guerin and later gave it to me in Santa Cruz. I think the counsels of Father Guerin were of little value, and later how the Archbishop went over the dispute of the acequia when I was not alone in it, as if they were not many [!]

Moreover, Girdsleeve [who, with Col. Chaves, were the two lawyers representing Ralliere and the people he was aiding in this case] went to see the Archbishop and made the same thing clear to him and further told him that he was certain of winning, that if he did not win this case he would not follow law longer. Moreover, at this time poor Lamy was dead [cast down with unhappiness]. His nephew, John Baptist,¹⁹ had killed Mallet with a bullet from the back.

I came home from the court on Sunday evening. My singers [choir] gathered and some other persons playing the

17. Agustin Truchard had come from France with Ralliere and received the priesthood with him in Santa Fe, 1856. He left New Mexico to return to France—according to Salpointe (*op. cit.* p. 208)—because of ill health. In 1868 as parish priest of Albuquerque, he "called the Sisters of Loretto to open a school in that town. He had built a large house for the purpose, and the school prospered until 1869, when it was closed owing to a change of the ecclesiastical administration in the parish." *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

18. Lt. John G. Bourke ("*Bourke on the Southwest*," Ed., Lansing Bloom, New Mexico Hist. Rev., vol. 11, no. 3 [1936], pp. 249-52) tells of meeting Father J. B. Francolon at Santa Cruz, July 1881, where the latter was stationed. Bourke was impressed with the intelligence of the French priest, with his collection of fine San Idefonso pottery, and with his appreciation of a fine "copy of some Spanish master" depicting the Madonna and Child, for which Francolon had refused the standing offer of \$500 from the President of the Denver and Rio Grande railroad.

19. Mallet, a French architect in Santa Fe had been pursuing the wife of Lamy's nephew while the latter was out of town on business trips. Upon returning from one such trip, he discovered the situation and shot Mallet. He was exonerated on the basis of self defense.

violin in my house and in the plaza. We set off a firecracker. I gave them a glass of wine and José Abran spread the story that we were all drunk. May God forgive me, but I was content to make the man mad.

Jointly with the acequia case came the trouble over the making of the graves.

Truchard wrote me that I made a blunder in not arranging the act and manner of making the graves. I said that Manuel A. [Otero] did not want to donate a bell in settlement for the grave of Doña Dolores [his first wife].

For the grave of Benito he gave nothing. Eleuterio Baca [and] Emilio Otero wrote me that all was paid with the 130 dollars which they gave me for the funeral. Father Truchard wrote me on Oct. 11, 1879 that Manuel A. had published an article against me in the Las Vegas Gazette. The New Mexican [newspaper] of Santa Fe took up my defense. This article did much good for me, because it placed the Archbishop in my favor. Manuel Antonio continued going to Santa Fe to give bad reports against me. When I could see that a tempest was brewing I persuaded the Archbishop to send here a vicar for good [first-hand] information. And in effect Father Truchard came the 30th of April, 1880. He gave the mass on Sunday and I told everyone who came to mass that here was the vicar to obtain information concerning me. Various ones entered the room of Father Truchard, among them Don Jose Baca and Manuel B. Otero [son of Manuel A.] but to defend me. I prepared a wagon with driver for Father Truchard to go to La Constancia [home of Manuel A.] Manuel A. spoke to him about a letter I had written him to persuade him to arrange a reconciliation between José Abran Romero and Sofia. I had already shown my letter to Father Truchard. On his return he told me to give him [Manuel A.] a satisfactory explanation, but the next day, when he was about to leave, Father Truchard received a letter from Manuel A. which he did not at all like and he told me not to write Manuel A. I have yet to say that I, with more malice than convenient, buried Sabino Montaña, Feb. 13, 1880 next to [the grave of] Benito. Later Catalina Contreras. [These were persons of poor families. Ralliere was hitting back.]

— Father Truchard by order of the Archbishop ordered me to remove the bodies. I did not do it. The town of Tomé and the Contreras family would have made a revolution. Eleuterio Baca and Emilio Otero tried to take the body of Benito to Las Vegas but that never did happen and now I see that this body is indeed forgotten, the same as that of the family of Manuel A.

In the end Archbishop Lamy ordered me not to give burial to anyone in the monument of Manuel A. without notifying him. This man [Manuel A.] died March 1, 1882. All responsibility was taken by D. Miguel and Meliton Otero and after some menacing words Manuel B. did pay me two hundred dollars for the burial of his father. Manuel A. had given the church a candelabra which at factory prices cost 75 dollars. It [cash plus candelabra] was very near the 300 dollars which I claimed.

Five months before his death Manuel A. married Cruz Chaves, Sept. 24, 1881. From this time dates the perfect reconciliation of Manuel A. with me. He came to see me for the wedding. He came with Don Juan Salazar y Jimenez and he...

[Here a page or more is missing, but village recollections provide the remainder of the tale of the Otero graves. Cruz Otero attempted to have a crypt opened in the gravestone above the three Otero graves at the death of her infant son, since Archbishop Lamy decreed that three bodies sufficiently filled the plot and no more should be added. But the two men whom she hired to cut the hole into the stone gave up after three days, the only result of their efforts being a shallow ill-shaped pit which Ralliere ordered re-sealed. Burial of the child Manuel A. Jr., was made in an iron-fenced grave in front of the church.

Later Cruz married Julian Chavez from Valencia. Upon his death, she again commissioned two men to open a grave in the Otero stone, but, this being prevented by the church, the old man was buried in the cemetery of the Tomé Grant.]

(To be continued)

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NAVAHO-SPANISH RELATIONS

By FRANK D. REEVE

THE Navaho people are a branch of the Athapascan Indian language group. In this respect they are one group of the Apache people who lived in scattered bands over a large part of the Southwestern United States. In historic times, the Spanish gave Apache bands a name in keeping with some cultural characteristic or geographical location. In northeastern New Mexico the Jicarilla, or Basket Maker, Apaches made their homes. Along the eastern side roamed various bands known as the Natages and Faraones and eventually as the Mescalero, or mescal eating Apaches. Southwestern New Mexico was the habitat of Apaches referred to as the Faraones, Salineros, Mescaleros, and later as Gilas or Gileños. The Apaches of Navaho, or farmer Apaches, lived in northwestern New Mexico from Cebolleta Mountain to the Province of Navaho in the Rio San Juan drainage.¹

There are several suggested sources for the derivation of the word Apache. It is "probably from *ápachu*, 'enemy,' the Zuñi name for the Navaho . . .,"² or else the Spanish picked up the word from the Yavapi Indian term 'Axwá, duoplural 'Axwáatca, meaning "Apache person."³ "May I put the case for another explanation? — namely, that the Zuñi word is derived from *apádje*, "people," the name by which the Apaches of Yuman speech call themselves; that these Apádje were, at an early period, the typical enemies of the pueblo people; and that when the Athapascan Diné whom we know as the Navaho arrived, they were classified as a variety of

1. For a detailed discussion of the origin of the name "Navaho" and their location, see Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navaho Geography," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 31, pp. 290-309.

Cebolleta Mountain, sometimes marked on maps as San Mateo Mountain or Chivato Mesa, is topped at the southern end by Mt. Taylor, also one time named Mt. San Mateo.

2. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Pt. 1, Washington, 1907 (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30).

3. John P. Harrington, "Southern peripheral Athapaskawan origins, divisions, and migrations." *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection*, 100:512. Washington, 1940.

Apache."⁴ The Apaches call themselves *Tinneáh*,⁵ meaning "man" or the "people," sometimes spelled *dineh* or *diné*.

The word Apache first appeared in Spanish documents in the time of Juan de Oñate and the colonization of New Mexico (1598). Earlier contacts with these people were friendly, but now they were classed as a warlike people and soon became a serious foe for the Spanish who struggled to keep a foothold in New Mexico in order to maintain Christian missions among the Pueblo people. It is reasonable to assume that they had been troublesome toward the Pueblos before the advent of the Spanish,⁶ and that relations alternated mildly between war and peace, a common condition among all the peoples of the earth, even to the earliest times. The fact that the Apaches were troublesome in the seventeenth century is made amply clear in Spanish records, but which group of Apaches was guilty at a given moment is another question.

When Governor Oñate (1598-1607) prepared to punish the people of Acoma for their unexpected attack on Spanish soldiers in 1599, he assembled a punitive expedition at his headquarters in the Pueblo of San Juan. "The natives, seeing these things, quickly became alarmed and sent messengers to the neighboring provinces, calling upon the savages one and all to unite and wage war against the Spaniards with blood and fire."⁷ This call to arms may have been only a bit of poetic imagination, but if such a call was issued the Apaches would have been the people summoned, and especially the Navahos and the Jicarillas. There is no evidence that the Navahos or other Apaches rallied to the defense of Acoma, but Villagra's story reveals a Spanish awareness of the existence of the Apaches nearby the settlements of the Pueblos, and their potential as an enemy.

4. Barbara Aitken, *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 26:334 (October, 1951).

5. J. P. Harrington in R. H. Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886*, p. 5, note 13. New Mexico Historical Society, Publications in History, IX, or *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 14:313 note (October, 1939).

6. F. W. Hodges believes that the Navahos were "Raiders of the sedentary Pueblo Indians from as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century . . ." Foreword in Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: its technique and history*. Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1934.

7. Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, *History of New Mexico*, p. 219. Tr., Gilberto Espinosa. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1933.

The nearness of Apaches to the Pueblo settlements is supported by words of Oñate himself: "We have seen other nations, such as the Querechos or Vaqueros, who live among the Cíbola cattle in tents of tanned hides. The Apaches, some of whom we also saw, are extremely numerous. Although I was told that they lived in rancherías, in recent days I have learned that they live in pueblos the same as the people here. They have a pueblo eighteen leagues from here with fifteen plazas. They are a people that has not yet publicly rendered obedience to his majesty, as I had the other provinces do. . . ."⁸ Since Oñate was already acquainted with the several Pueblos of New Mexico, this reference indeed could be to the Navahos. They lived in a scattered fashion on the mesa tops of the Rio San Juan country (the Province of Navaho), but sufficiently concentrated to give the impression of a settlement or pueblo, and the estimated distance of eighteen leagues to their country is close enough in view of the lack of exactness in mileage recorded by the Spanish.

The poet Villagra also wrote that the Acoma war chief sent a messenger to an Apache chief, requesting him to come to Acoma, a council of war. This chief lived far from Acoma,⁹ which could mean the Apaches to the south of the Pueblo, that is, the Gila Apaches, or the Navahos who lived on Cebolleta Mountain.

The fact that the Apaches in general were troublesome was soon made clear in the time of Oñate. During his years of service in New Mexico, "numerous complaints had been received concerning his failure to deal in an appropriate manner with the Apaches and Navahos."¹⁰ The thought occurred to the Viceroy that perhaps the Spanish had been too aggressive toward the natives outside of the Pueblo area, so an initial move was made to curtail further punitive expedi-

8. Oñate to Viceroy, March 2, 1599. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*, 1:484. The University of New Mexico Press, 1953. 2 vols. (vol. 5, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. George P. Hammond, general editor).

9. For a more detailed discussion of the location of the Gila Apaches, see Albert H. Schroeder "Fray Marcos de Niza, Coronado and the Yavapai," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 30:295 (October, 1955).

10. France V. Scholes, "Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 11:28 (January, 1936), or *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History*, VII.

tions under Oñate's successor. This order was quickly countermanded under pressure from the religious. Father Ximénez "informed the viceroy that the Spaniards and Christian Indians were regularly harassed by the Apaches, who destroyed and burned the pueblos, waylaid and killed the natives, and stole the horses of the Spaniards."¹¹

Governor Don Pedro de Peralta's (1610-1614) instructions from the Viceroy when appointed to office in New Mexico included the statement: "Some villages and tribes are on the frontiers and lands of the Apaches who are usually protectors or hosts of enemies and among whom are the planners and plotters against the entire country and from which they issue to do damage and make war."¹² In the light of later information concerning the Apaches and relations with them, this quotation more nearly implies the Navahos' country as the alleged "refuge" than any other region of the widespread Apaches. Since the Navahos were a more settled folk than their kinsmen elsewhere because of growing corn, they would have been a more natural refuge for Pueblo people fleeing from Spanish abuse, and a potential ally despite past differences with them.

Their Northern Province near the Rio San Juan lay westward from the headwaters of the Rio Chama, and they had direct entry in peace and war to the Pueblo region at the confluence of the Rio Chama and Rio Grande by way of the valley of the Rio Chama. When Fray Alonso contacted these people in September of 1629, his emissaries departed from Santa Clara Pueblo on September 17, which fell on a Thursday. They arrived home on a Friday with a delegation of Apaches. At least one week had passed between the two events, which was sufficient for making a round-trip to the near-part of the pagan's homeland.¹³ From the standpoint of

11. George P. Hammond, "Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 2:139 (April, 1927), or H. S. of N. M., P. H., II.

12. March 30, 1609. Translation by Prof. Watt Stewart, State Teachers College, Albany, New York, from the Spanish document published with a translation by Ireneo L. Chaves, in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, 4:183 (April, 1929).

13. *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630*. Tr., Mrs. Edward E. Ayer. Anno., Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis, p. 47. Chicago, 1916. Cited hereafter as *Benavides 1630*. Warren R. Good, *Perpetual Calendar*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Ann Arbor Press, 1943.

proximity, these frontier folk were closest to the heart of Puebloland. From the vantage point of Santa Clara Pueblo, Fray Alonso Benavides wrote: "Thither more than usual [elsewhere] these Navajò Apaches repaired to do havoc."¹⁴

Jemez Pueblo was another focal point of Navaho relations with the Pueblo folk and the Spanish. Shortly after the arrival of Oñate in 1598 the missionaries laid plans for Christianizing the Indians. "Fray Alonso Lugo was assigned to the Jemez pueblos, 'and also all the Apaches and Cocoyes of their mountains and districts.'"¹⁵ This mission field, insofar as the Apaches were concerned, was not actually cultivated until years later, but an occasional peep is afforded in documents about relations with their neighbors: for instance, "in the spring of 1614 some Jemez Indians, together with some Apaches (Navahos?), killed an Indian of Cochiti. Several of the Jemez captains were brought to Santo Domingo, and there one was hanged."¹⁶ A decade later the Jemez people, apparently with the approval of the Governor of New Mexico, felt free to abandon their new mission church and settled way of life. They decamped to the hills. "The incident doubtless had serious repercussions throughout the entire Jemez area, and it is not unlikely that the Navaho took advantage of the situation to raid the Jemez pueblos and inflict further damage."¹⁷

Shortly after the arrival of Fray Alonso Benavides in New Mexico in 1625 as Custodian of the Missions, serious efforts were made to strengthen relations with the Navahos with a view to converting them to Christianity and maintaining peace between them and the Pueblo folk. Having learned

14. *Benavides 1630*, p. 45.

The Jicarilla Apaches of course were a possible refuge for fleeing Pueblos, but they only touched upon the northeastern corner of Puebloland.

The Pueblo of Santa Clara "where the Apaches [de Navaho] killed people every day and waged war on them." *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, p. 86. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1945. Hereafter cited as *Benavides 1634*.

15. France V. Scholes, "Notes on the Jemez Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *El Palacio*, 44:61 (1938). Or, "all of the Apaches and Cocoyes of the neighboring sierras and settlements." Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, p. 345.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 63 note. Scholes' supposition that these Apaches were Navahos is sound on the basis of geographical proximity and in the light of the later story about relations between the Apaches and Jemez.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

that one of their Captains named Quinia had been wounded by an arrow, Fray Pedro de Ortega, missionary of Santa Fe, and Fray Gerónimo de Pedraza, a trained apothecary and surgeon, went to Navaholand to tend the wounded men. After this event, the Captain came to the Rio Grande Valley in the year 1627 and asked for baptism. "To console him, I [Fray Alonso] went to his rancherías, as he had retired farther inland, and planted there the first crosses." The following year Fray Pedro baptized Quinia and a fellow chieftain named Manases. Sometime during the spring of 1629, the serious work of planting a mission was started. Captain Quinia once more came to the Valley to escort the Friars entrusted with the task, Fray Bartolomé Romero and Fray Francisco Munos. They were also accompanied by Governor Francisco de Sylva (1629-1632) with a detachment of soldiers.

No time was wasted by these laborers in missionary work. "In one day they built a church of logs, which they hewed, and they plastered these walls on the outside." Then the Spanish departed except for Fray Bartolomé as resident missionary. The Apaches quickly grew restless under this strange tutelage. They attempted to kill the Friar and then moved on to other haunts. Fray Alonso attempted to retrieve the situation. He sent a peaceful delegation to these people to open negotiations for better relations. They succeeded in the undertaking and a delegation of Apaches came to the Pueblo of Santa Clara for a conference. It was probably after this meeting that Fray Martín de Arvide "entered this nation at the extreme end,"¹⁸ that is, the Province of Navaho.

The years passed with missionary work confined to the Pueblo people. The Navahos carried on as usual, sometimes trading with the settled Indians, and occasionally warding

18. This story is pieced together from scattered information in *Benavides 1630*, *Benavides 1634*, and Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano*, p. 144. Mexico, 1871 (Teatro Mexicano, vol. 4).

Fray Martín de Arvide, with permission from Fray Alonso and by authority of Governor Phelipe Sotelo Ossorio (1625-1629), had earlier succeeded in restoring the wandering Jemez people to their former settled status. *Ibid.*, p. 75f. *Benavides 1634*, p. 70.

Fray Pedro de Ortega was stationed at Santa Fe for about two years, beginning in January, 1626.

off an attack from the Spanish and Pueblo folk. When the individual Pueblo person could no longer suffer the impositions of his new masters, he fled "to the heathen, believing that they enjoy greater happiness with them, since they live according to their whims, and in complete freedom."¹⁹ Again it is reasonable to assume that these "heathen" were the corn growing Navaho Apaches rather than the buffalo hunting Apaches of the eastern plains or the distant Apaches to the southwest of Pueblo land.

The presence of aggrieved Pueblo refugees among the Navahos no doubt acted as an incitement to raiding the settled people; and to distinguish between Spanish and Pueblo (or friend and foe) was impossible because the two were so closely interlocked. The missionary had penetrated all the Pueblos with varying success and the Spanish soldiers' prime task was that of protecting the religious and their new converts to Christianity. The Spanish conquerors drew heavily on Pueblo manpower for both defense and aggression against the frontier foe. So there were more inducements for the frontier people to attack their settled neighbors than stories of hardships suffered at the hands of the Spanish as related by refugees. Furthermore, "The cause of the increasing enmity was doubtless resentment against the common practice of seizing Apache and Navaho boys and girls by Spaniards during trading expeditions to the lands of these tribes, in order to impress them into service on the ranches or as house servants, and to sell them as slaves in the labor markets of New Spain."²⁰

It is a doubtful assumption that the nomads raided the Pueblos in order to benefit substantially from plunder. A pueblo dwelling was also a fortification, and very difficult to capture as the Spaniards themselves had learned from ex-

19. Petition [of Father Juan de Prada, Convent of San Francisco, Mexico, September 26, 1638]. Charles Wilson Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3:111. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937.

Prada was Commissary-General of New Spain. In preparation for writing his report, he consulted missionary eyewitnesses, either personal or by correspondence.

20. France V. Scholes, "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 12:150 (April, 1937), or *H. S. of N. M.*, P. H., XI.

perience.²¹ Within the fortress were stored the corn and other produce of the field, likewise any supply of cotton goods or other items that the Apaches could use. These supplies could have been obtained more easily by peaceful barter.²²

The *encomenderos*, or citizen-soldiers, were the military core of provincial defense. They were responsible for guarding the missions, the settlers, and escorting travelers. They only numbered about thirty-five in the first part of the century. Their ranks were strengthened, when necessary, by a levy on the Pueblo folk and Spanish settlers. All told there were about 200 Spaniards able to bear arms.²³ It is not too far fetched to state that the military resources of New Mexico were always inadequate for the work at hand. The Spaniards felt themselves to be on the defensive, and usually insufficiently armed. They even fell short of horseshoes in the 1630's and could not make punitive expeditions because the enemy "lives in rough mountainous country and on stony mesas. . . ." The description certainly points the finger of suspicion at the Navahos who lived in just such a country.²⁴

This suspicion is strengthened by the allusion of Fray Thomas: "Since it is clear and manifest that in their [the

21. Cf: "All the information which we have from regions other than the Southwest indicates that prior to the introduction of the horse, American nomads were impotent against settled agricultural groups. The assured food supply of the latter gave them an overwhelming superiority of numbers, while they were better organized and at least equally well armed and mobile." Ralph Linton, "Nomad Raids and Fortified Pueblos," *American Antiquity*, 10:29 (July 1944).

22. "These Indians [Pueblo] are notably poor and live a wretched life, for their entire property is limited to the raising of a little cotton, from which they weave the blankets with which they clothe themselves and which they sometimes exchange for buffalo and deer skins which the unconverted Indians are accustomed to bring, who live adjacent to our people and with whom they maintain peace, although always insecure, because these people do not keep their word." Petition [of Father Juan de Prada, Convent of San Francisco, Mexico, September 26, 1638]. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:108.

23. Petition [of Francisco Martínez de Baeza, Mexico, February 12, 1639]. *Ibid.*, 3:119. France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 10:79 (April, 1935). *Benavides 1630*, p. 22f.

24. Report by Cabildo to Viceroy, Santa Fe, February 21, 1639. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:73; see also p. 54.

Fray Diego de San Lucas fell a victim to the Navaho at Jemez Pueblo in 1639. *Benavides 1634*, p. 277 note.

"The first reference to Jemez subsequent to the time of Benavides is for the year 1639. Sometime during that year . . . 'los yndios de los hemes habian tenido un rebato y acometimiento de los yndios apaches (Navahos?) ynfeles enemigos de los cristianos y que en el havian muerto a flechazos al Padre Diego de San Lucas. . . .' Scholes, "Notes on the Jemez Missions . . .," 44:94.

Cabildo] time [1641-42] they subdued the whole Apache nation that had harassed the land in the time of [Gov.] Don Luis de Rozas [1637-41], burning more than 20,000 *fanegas* of Indian corn, killing and capturing a large number of Indians, so that he forced the Apaches to make peace."²⁵

How much of the warfare can be attributed to the Navahos among all the frontier foes cannot be calculated with mathematical exactness, but there is no doubt that they were involved, even though the records at hand are scanty. Fray Alonso de Benavides recorded that the Navahos assembled at one time more than thirty thousand warriors. The figure is nonsense, of course, but he went on to explain that "This is a very conservative estimate, because the sargento mayor of the Spanish soldiers told me that once when he had fought them in a war he had seen more than two hundred thousand, as near as he could estimate." The significance of this statement lies not in the figure of fighting men, which can be completely ignored, but in the fact that even in or before Fray Alonso's time, scarcely a quarter century after the arrival of Oñate, the Spanish had campaigned against the Navahos.²⁶

The picture of conflict becomes a little clearer in the 1640's. Drawing upon his memory in 1681 for events of forty years in the past, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, distinguished soldier in seventeenth century New Mexico, related that, "He knows particularly that [Gov.] Don Fernando de Arguello [1644-1647] in his time had twenty-nine Jemez Indians hanged in the pueblo of Los Jemez as traitors and confederates of the Apaches, and that he had imprisoned a number of them for the same crime and for having killed Diego Martínez Naranjo."²⁷

The geographical location of Jemez in relation to the

25. Fray Thomas Manso to Padre Nuestro Reverendísimo [Prada], Parral, January 15, 1645. A. G. I., Sevilla, 2-4-1/22, No. 7. (Ayer Collection transcript, Newberry Library, Chicago). The Cabildo at Santa Fe was actually in power from the fall of 1641 to the fall of 1642.

26. *Benavides 1634*, p. 85.

27. Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., and Charmion Clair Shelby, tr., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682*, pt. 2, p. 266 (vol. 9, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, George P. Hammond, general editor).

The same passage is in *Documentos para la Historia del Nuevo Mexico*, a summary of the Otermín documents, A. G. N., *Historia 26 f152r* (pt. 2, enlarged microfilm,

Province of Navaho again indicates that the Apaches involved in the punishment of the Jemez Indians were or included Navahos. The inference is strengthened by the fact that a mere three or four years earlier the Navahos were probably a direct target of military action. Despite the jurisdictional strife between the Church and State in the seventeenth century, the Friars were not above helping the civil arm in controlling the troublesome frontier people, so on one occasion "The prelate [Custodian Hernando de Covarrubias] also aided the governor in other ways, such as lending horses for a campaign against the Navahos and Pacheco [Governor Alonso Pacheco de Heredia, 1642-1644] expressed warm appreciation of such whole-hearted coöperation."²⁸

Whether Governor Pacheco actually attacked the Navahos at this time is not certain, but after the hanging episode under his successor, another bit of light is thrown on the state of affairs when, in the administration of Governor Luís de Guzmán y Figueroa (1647-49), punitive action was taken against them "in the campaign of the Rio Grande, Nabajo, and Cassa-Fuerte." Juan Domínguez participated in this campaign.²⁹

Governor Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha (1649-53) was also faced with a conspiracy between the Pueblos and the

Coronado Library, University of New Mexico). The microfilms will be cited hereafter as *New Mexico Archives*.

In 1645 Gov. Fernando de Argüello, "For these crimes hanged, whipped, and imprisoned more than forty Indians, all of whom were Jemez and were associated with the Apache enemies. . . ." Fray Vélez de Escalante, "Extracto de Noticias," *Biblioteca Nacional de México 3* (pt. 1, photo 77, *New Mexico Archives*). The enlarged microfilm copy in the New Mexico Archives does not have the original pagination, so the photo number must be used for specific page reference.

The authorship of the "Extracto de Noticias" is attributed to Fray Vélez by J. Manuel Espinosa, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 22:422-25 (May 1942). Prepared in 1778, it is a lengthy resume of New Mexican Affairs to 1717 based on the Spanish Archives at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

A portion of the "Extracto" can be found in A. G. N., *Historia 2* (pt. 2, *New Mexico Archives*). A printed version is in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Tercero Serie, Mexico, 1856.

Juan Domínguez de Mendoza arrived in New Mexico in 1634 at the tender age of twelve. Escalante, *op. cit.*

28. Scholes, "Church and State . . .," 12:85.

29. Commission issued to Domínguez by Governor Miranda, Santa Fe, July 27, 1671. *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, ms. 19258, photos 62-66, document 23. I am indebted to France V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams for the use of these translations from a microfilm. The documents are a part of the Juan Domínguez de Mendoza papers which they plan to publish in the Coronado Historical Series. They will be cited hereafter as *Domínguez Papers*.

Apaches. The plan was revealed by Apaches who had seized a herd of mares. Overtaken by Captain Alonso Baca, they informed him that the Indians of the pueblos of Alameda and Sandia had delivered the stock to them as part of the bargain made for the alliance.³⁰ The Governor proceeded to hang nine leaders from the pueblos of Isleta, Alameda, San Felipe, Cochití, and Jemez.³¹ Some Navahos were involved in this event too, and Apaches from elsewhere.³²

During the governorship of Juan de Samaniego y Xaca (1653-56) an expedition was sent against the eastern Apaches. The "following" year the Navahos ambushed the people of Jemez killing nineteen and taking captive thirty-five. Retaliation was in order, and again Juan Domínguez took the field. "He surprised the Navahos during a native ceremonial, killed several Navahos, imprisoned 211, and released the captives, including a Spanish woman."³³ This indicates that the Jemez people were in an unhappy predicament. One moment they were hanged for conspiring against the Spanish in alliance with the Navahos or other Apaches. The next moment their sometime friends ambushed them. This situation can be attributed to a lack of unity among the Navahos.

When Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659-1661) assumed office, he was of the opinion that it would be necessary to punish the Apaches "and lay waste their sowings," all because they had failed to reaffirm the peace at the beginning of his government as they had done in the time of his predecessors.³⁴

He had the corn-growing Navahos in mind, and his

30. Escalante, *op. cit.*, photo 77. Declaration of Diego López, December 22, 1681. Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt . . .*, pt. 2, p. 299.

31. Domínguez' statement in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt . . .*, pt. 2, p. 266.

32. Commission issued to Domínguez, *op. cit.*

Governor Ugarte punished Indians of Casa Fuerte Nabajo, which clearly means the Navaho, and of Matanssas. The latter term bears a similarity to the name *Manases* as used by Benavides in reference to the Apache Navaho.

Domínguez also campaigned against the eastern Apaches. *Ibid.*

33. Scholes, "Troublous Times . . .," 12:150. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 24-25, doc. 8.

34. Commission issued to Juan Domínguez. *Domínguez Papers*, photo 30, doc. 10. This commission was dated August 30, 1659, which connects the Governor's opinion with the statement of Captain Andrés Hurtado: "For this purpose of making captives, the governor on the fourth of September of this year, 1659, sent out an army of eight hundred Christian Indians and forty Spaniards, though there was evident risk at the time the army set out that trouble would ensue, for the kingdom was then full of bands

military commander performed his task in a satisfactory manner. Juan Domínguez led his troops on a campaign to "the Rio Grande, where severe punishment was again meted out to the Apache enemies, many of whom were captured and killed."³⁵

If Governor Lopez had any genuine desire for peace with the Navahos, his actions certainly belied his words. He committed an act that seems beyond the capacity of ordinary men, but was convicted on the charge at the close of office: "López intensified the hostility of the Apaches by acts of treachery. For example, certain Apache warriors were permitted to come in peace to Jémez, only to be cut down and killed by the governor's order. An expedition was then sent out immediately to seize the women and children who had been left behind."³⁶

The decade of the 1660's opened with the subdivision of New Mexico into two administrative districts, the Rio Arriba (up river) and the Rio Abajo (down river) with Santa Fe as the headquarters for the Rio Arriba. This action was partly due to the "need for a more active defensive policy in the lower area where the Apaches were especially active."³⁷ Juan Domínguez was appointed *Alcalde Mayor* for the jurisdiction of Sandía and Isleta pueblos, and Lieutenant General for the larger region from Cochití Pueblo on the north to the pueblo of Senecú on the south (all a part of the Rio Abajo) and eastward to the pueblos of the Salinas district which lay southeast from the Manzano mountains.³⁸

of heathen who have entered the pueblos of Las Salinas, the *camino real*, and the farms of El Río, and also into the pueblos of Hemes, San Ildefonso, and San Felipe." Declaration of September, 1661, in Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:187.

35. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 62-66, doc. 23.

36. Scholes, "Troublous Times . . ." 13:69. The episode is retold with the statement, "having induced a group of Apache (Navaho) warriors" to visit Jemez in peace. Scholes, "Civil Government . . ." 10:85.

The Pueblo of Taos was also listed as the site of similar action. Scholes, "Troublous Times . . ." 13:74.

"Relations with the Apaches and Navahos were characterized by occasional peaceful trading ventures and by a series of raids on frontier pueblos followed by counter attacks on the Apache-Navaho strongholds," during the 1650's. *Ibid.*, 12:396.

37. Scholes, "Civil Government . . ." 10:91.

38. Appointment by Governor López, Santa Fe, November 19, 1659. *Domínguez Papers*, photo 29, doc. 11.

The Piro Pueblos in the region of Senecú (near present day Socorro) were involved in the intrigues with the Apaches of the Southwest. Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt* . . . , pt. 2, p. 299. Escalante, *op. cit.*, photo 78.

The administrative change was followed by a policy of keeping the frontier Indians from intruding into the settled area for the purpose of trading because there was always the possibility that they would commit some mischief, so "a pact was made with them that they should not pass beyond the pueblos of Humanos and Tavira [the Salinas area], where they come to barter; nor should the enemy of the same nation in the jurisdiction of Casa Fuerte and Navajó come, because it is from there that the whole kingdom receives hurt, for they [the Apaches] are all one people, and it is impossible to tell whether they are friends or enemies."³⁹ This restrictive policy was modified in January, 1664, when Governor Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa Briceño y Berdugo (1661-1664) ordered "that the enemies who are at peace be not allowed to come into the pueblos of this custody. Whenever they may come to trade they may do so, stopping outside, so as to avoid inconveniences that might result of informing themselves of our forces."⁴⁰

Neither administrative change nor instructions on trade brought enduring peace. And nature added to the difficulties of the times with crop shortages which reduced both the Pueblo people and the Spanish settlers to a starvation diet, sometimes resulting in death. The Apaches continued to be troublesome. They "hurl themselves at danger like people who know no God nor that there is any hell."⁴¹

The decade preceding the Pueblo War for Independence in 1680 was a period of increasing trial and tribulation for conqueror and conquered. The great drought of the late 1660's was followed by a pestilence in 1671 which carried off both cattle and people. The next year the Apaches were again on the war path. Of particular significance for the future history of the nomads was the onslaught on the livestock in the Rio Grande Valley. The Apaches to the east, southeast,

39. Testimony of Captain Nicolás de Aguilar, May 11, 1663. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:143.

40. R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2:2. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914. (2 vols.). H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 168 note. San Francisco, 1888. New Mexico Archives, 1621-83, doc. 3 (Enlarged microfilm in Coronado Library of the Colonial Spanish Archives at Santa Fe, N. M.)

41. Fray Juan Bernal to the Tribunal, Santo Domingo, April 1, 1669. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:272.

and southwest no doubt utilized the sheep and cattle for food and the horses for transportation. It is quite possible that the well-known livestock (especially sheep) holdings of the Navaho Apaches in the eighteenth century had their origins in these years immediately preceding the pueblo uprising⁴² because of their more settled way of life.

It is certain that the Navahos were active in contributing to the general distress during this decade. In addition to campaigns against the Apaches to the east and southwest of Puebloland, Domínguez was commissioned by Governor Juan Francisco de Treviño (1675-1677) in September of 1675 to campaign against the enemy "to the cordilleras of Navajo, Casa Fuerte, and the other places necessary"⁴³ to punish them and check their marauding. And again in 1678 a full-scale attack was launched by Governor Antonio de Otermín (1677-1683). Juan Domínguez once more was the commander. With a detachment of fifty mounted Spanish fighters and 400 Pueblo allies, he was instructed to follow the trails leading westward from Zia Pueblo "to the cordilleras of Casa Fuerte Navajo, Río Grande, and their districts," returning by way of the mountains of Piedra Alumbre, a jumping off point for enemy forces bent on raiding the Rio Arriba. He succeeded in destroying some crops and capturing thirteen horses.⁴⁴

Once more that same year the veteran soldier took the field against the enemy. He achieved marked success, although of an impermanent nature: "He burned and destroyed

42. Petition [of Fray Francisco de Ayeta. Mexico, May 10, 1679]. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:302. See also Fray Francisco in A. G. N., *Duplicados Reales Cédulas* 31, f36 (Ayer Collection transcript, p. 80). Or see quotation in Licenciado D. Martín de Solís Miranda to Exmo. Señor, September 5, 1676. A. G. N., *Historia* 25, f162.

Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 170, discusses the general situation due to Indian raids in the 1670's. Cf. Francisco Fernandez Marsilyo, October 2, 1676, quoted in *Historia* 25, f162 (pt. 2, Coronado Library microfilm).

The Apache raid on Zuñi in 1672, resulting in the death of Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala, was more likely the work of the Gila Apaches than the Navaho. The latter had a more fruitful field for raiding in the Rio Grande Valley. Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 4:346f, merely accuses "los bárbaros."

The exact date of this raid and the death of Fray Pedro is a moot point. A re-examination of the evidence can be found in Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, p. 197 note. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956.

43. September 24, 1675. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 78-81, doc. 29.

44. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1678. Photos 134-36, doc. 32; photos 139-41, doc. 31.

more than 2500 fanegas of maize, and it is public knowledge that he captured the wives and children of the infidel Apache enemies, put to rout an ambush they had prepared on a mesa, burned their settlements, and won many spoils, actions worthy of every reward."⁴⁵ But a month later the governor wrote that the Navahos retaliated with an attack on the Pueblo of Acoma. "In order to restrain their insolence, their crimes and atrocities have been punished in the general destruction inflicted upon them by my order, which resulted in the death of some of them and the capture of others. Nevertheless, adding crimes to crimes, they lay in ambush at the Peñon de San Esteban de Acoma where they destroyed some sowings, killed an Indian, and attempted to destroy the said pueblo and stronghold."⁴⁶ So once again Domínguez took the field with instructions "to march from the plaza de armas of the pueblo of Sía in good order and military discipline to the said cordilleras of the west, of Casa Fuerte, Navajo, peñoles, and other places which may seem necessary to him. . . ."⁴⁷

The results of the winter campaign are not at hand, but one more attack was made against the Navahos before the great catastrophe of 1680. In the summer of 1679, a pincer movement was planned against them. Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier led a force westward from Taos with instructions to cooperate with and eventually join another force led by Domínguez westward from Zia Pueblo. Any Navahos lurking in the mountainous country north of the Chama Valley would be driven westward as the other Spanish force invaded their homeland and turned eastward. A probable meeting place for the two forces was the Piedra Lumbre.⁴⁸

The climax of Spanish-Pueblo friction was reached in the War of 1680. The part that the Apaches played in this

45. Governor Otermín, Santa Fe, November 26, 1678. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 128-130, doc. 33.

46. Commission to Domínguez, Santa Fe, December 28, 1678. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 96-97, doc. 36.

Maese (Maestre) de Campo was the "title of a top-ranking Spanish army officer of field grade, equivalent to colonel, or even to major or lieutenant general, depending upon the number of troops under his command." Adams and Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, p. 356.

struggle for independence is not clear. They are frequently referred to as being allied with the Pueblos against the Spanish, but again they are mentioned as being hostile to the former and taking advantage of the situation after the protection of Spanish arms, for whatever they were worth, had been removed. The Apaches are seldom mentioned by a group name, but the few references are to the Faraones and Achos who lived along the eastern frontier of New Mexico. The latter were the Jicarillas of later times. The Ute Indians are mentioned at least once as taking advantage of the times.

The Navahos too played a shadowy part in the uprising. There are implications that they took advantage of Pueblo distress after the Spanish withdrawal. A handful of Pueblo Indians reentered New Mexico from El Paso shortly after the rebellion for some vague purpose of their own. One of the group, Shimitihua, reported that he met a Navaho Apache chief at the pueblo of Santo Domingo engaged in negotiations for peace between the two peoples. The meeting had been solicited by the Pueblo people.⁴⁹

One fact in Navaho history does emerge clearly in the seventeenth century. They became involved in a persistent warfare with the Spanish. The conquerors exploited the Pueblo people for economic advantage despite the laws and the Friars to the contrary, and the latter aimed at a revolution in the Pueblo way of life. Both practices kept alive discontent among the Pueblo people. Their grievances in turn worked toward making the frontier people anti-Spanish. The harsh treatment of the latter by Spanish slavers, and punitive expeditions in retaliation for raids into the valley of the Rio Grande, gave the frontier people their own set of grievances against the white man. Adding to these factors a probably normal but mild sense of antagonism between the Pueblo and frontier people before the arrival of the Spanish, and the use made by the latter of Pueblo manpower in military activities, it was not surprising that the Spanish and Pueblos became entangled in a relationship with the frontier people that was more marked by war than peace. The Navahos

49. B. N. M. 3 (pt. 1, photo 39, New Mexico Archives). Vina Walz, *History of the El Paso Area*, p. 45. University of New Mexico, 1951, ms.

played a prominent part in the story. After the Pueblo War for Independence against their Spanish masters in 1680, and their subsequent reconquest, the legacy of the Seventeenth century was another quarter century of warfare between the Spanish and Navahos before they settled down for a long era of peaceful relations.

JOHN SIMPSON CHISUM, 1877-84

By HARWOOD P. HINTON, JR.

(Concluded)

In the early fall of 1880, civil authorities in Lincoln County launched another determined and concerted move to rid the range of rustling. Operations, in the main, were directed against its principal head, William Bonney. Support from only a few indigenous stockmen was proffered however, for the previous range war's aftermath ebbed slowly. The campaign was actually set in motion by investigations undertaken by small groups of cowboys sent by ranches in the Texas Panhandle to locate evidence regarding the disappearance of their cattle from the eastern drainage of the Pecos. Periodically, the animals had drifted into that region during the winter.¹⁹

In corrals at White Oaks, northwest of Lincoln, and in the government slaughter pens at Fort Stanton, they found hides bearing brands which were obviously altered or from known unauthorized ranges. From this evidence, the party quickly traced last ownership of the cattle to Pat Coghlin, a Three Rivers rancher who held the local government beef contract. Bonney was his known procurer.²⁰

In the spring of 1879, Chisum had suggested to Governor Wallace that Patrick F. Garrett, a resident of Fort Sumner, be appointed to direct periodic scouting east of that town for stolen cattle.²¹ When Garrett, who had previously befriended Bonney, settled at Roswell the following fall, he was deputized by George W. Kimball, Sheriff of Lincoln County, at the urging of Chisum and other major cattlemen in the locale. Kimball's posses waged such a vacillating, unsuccessful campaign to curb stock losses during the summer of 1880 that

19. McCarty, *Tascosa*, pp. 83-6. In the early fall of 1880, four men, each representing a major Panhandle ranch, arrived in Lincoln County and reconnoitered a short while. A second group arrived from the Panhandle on November 16, 1880, and in December joined Garrett's posse south of Anton Chico.

20. *Ibid.*; Siringo, *A Texas Cowboy*, pp. 125-53. The LX ranch in the Texas Panhandle sent Siringo with a group. In the spring of 1881, he located evidence that conclusively linked Coghlin with Bonney's rustling.

21. Chisum to Wallace, April 15, 1879.

the deputy was urged to run for Sheriff and promised support. He won the election, but pending the expiration of the incumbent's term remained in his former capacity. In October, Garrett led a small posse up the Pecos to search the country east of Fort Sumner. In a letter to Governor Wallace, Bonney later commented on this move as follows:

. . . Deputy Sheriff Garrett Acting under Chisum's orders went to Portales and found nothing. J. S. Chisum is the man who got me into trouble and was benefitted Thousands by it and is now doing all he can against me.²²

Early in December, a Garrett posse was again in the Fort Sumner locale. About the middle of the month it was enlarged by the addition of heavily armed cowboys from ranches in the Panhandle. This group arrived in answer to a request voiced some months earlier by the Sheriff-Elect, when he found partisan feelings and fear in Lincoln County precluding the raising of an adequate scouting force. Garrett was now ready to proceed with confidence. A few days after Christmas his force surrounded Bonney and several others in a stone sheep herder's hut, some fourteen miles east of Fort Sumner, and forced them to surrender.²³

The citizenry of Lincoln County and ranchers, large and small, throughout New Mexico breathed a sigh of relief. A "reign of law," as Almer N. Blazer was later to say, had begun.²⁴ Especially were the Chisums relieved, for they had not only suffered the greatest stock losses but had repeatedly been the object of Bonney's threats. For them, as for the County, a full measure of hope seemed guaranteed by the coming year. The sprawling Jinglebob with its countless herds was now a memory, but perhaps this was for the best.

Prosperity and Extinction

Beginning in 1881, the Jinglebob ranch empire and its titular head, John Chisum, entered a short-lived period of

22. William Bonney to Governor Lew Wallace, December 12, 1880, in the Wallace Collection; Hoyt, *A Frontier Doctor*, p. 158.

23. *Denver Tribune*, December 28, 1880. Full account of capture.

24. Almer N. Blazer's statement in the *Alamogordo News* (Alamogordo, New Mexico), July 16, 1928. Blazer was a youth in Lincoln County during the civil strife there in 1878 and after.

vigorous activity. Ranching facilities were improved, selective breeding accelerated, and participation in local and regional livestock associations intensified. And as days of endless anxiety and misgiving concerning stock holdings and personal safety were now passed, the Chisums left the ranch more frequently on matters business or otherwise.

John and James Chisum, together with William Robert, arrived to the rail terminus at Las Vegas during the last week of January 1881. Here, several days later, James entrained for a visit with friends in Denton County, Texas. His two companions, however, left for Santa Fe to post bond to appear as witnesses against William Wilson, a counterfeiter, in April.¹ On February 26, the day following their return from the territorial capital, the *Las Vegas Gazette* endeavored to arrest a rumor:

John S. Chisum and W. Robert came up from Santa Fe yesterday. They were in disgust at the statement in the *New Mexican* to the effect that they were bondsmen for Wm Wilson, accused for counterfeiting. The facts in the case are that Wilson has not been able to give the amount of bond required which is \$5000. Chisum and Robert were only held in the sum of \$250 to appear as witnesses in the case.

Chisum remained in Las Vegas through the first weeks of March and possibly longer, for the spring term of district court annually attracted many prominent ranchers with whom he could visit and discuss the variables of the stock trade.²

On April 3, James Chisum returned to Las Vegas. His sons, Walter and Will, had driven in a day or so before from South Spring with two wagons to transport a shipment of several hundred young fruit trees and miscellaneous shrubs which their father had purchased in Colorado during his trip. Within a week, these plants were received, carefully packed, and the journey south commenced.³

1. *Las Vegas Optic*, January 26, 1881; *New Mexican*, February 25, 1881; Garrett, *Authentic Life*, pp. 98-9, 131. Garrett had been informed the previous fall of the circulation of bogus bills in southeastern New Mexico.

2. *Optic*, March 9, 1881; *Las Vegas Gazette*, March 9, 1881.

3. *Optic*, April 3, 1881; WC to HPH, April 24, 1954. Tape No. 10 elaborates on this episode considerably.

A heartfelt loss occurred on the ranch soon after their return. Johnny Ewer, an employee of the Chisums for nearly a decade, was drowned while attempting to ford the Pecos. He had been sent with Bill Hutchison and Will Chisum to check on a herd of brood mares being pastured about thirty-five miles below the headquarters and on the east side of the river, which at that time was at flood stage. At a point just below the mouth of the Felix, according to Will, Ewer

... had hardly started into the river when his horse got into deep water ... and turned back to the bank. ... When the horse's feet struck the bank, Johnny fell off backwards. Bill just sat his horse, but I jumped off my horse and began to throw off my clothing at the same time Johnny was floating down the river. I hit the water on the run and ... went down and down but I never contacted Johnny. ...⁴

When news of the tragedy reached South Spring, a group of cowboys with a wagon immediately set out to search the east bank of the river in hopes of locating the body and giving it a decent burial. After covering twenty miles they gave up.⁵

During the second week in April, Dr. D. McLean of the Brooklyn Veterinary Hospital arrived to the Jinglebob ranch. He had come to New Mexico and the Pecos in answer to a plea voiced by indigenous ranchers to the Department of Agriculture earlier that year regarding the threatened spread of an unfamiliar stock contagion. The Chisums were particularly concerned for their graded herds now numbered over fifteen thousand head. Upon completing his inspection of infected U brand cattle, the veterinarian moved north, successively visiting the ranches of Captain J. C. Lea in the Roswell area and Pete Maxwell near Fort Sumner. After a week in the field, he returned to Las Vegas and announced that the disease was local and not epizootic, thus allaying the ranchers' fears.⁶

Ten days following McLean's departure from the Territory, southeastern New Mexico was rudely aroused by a

4. Tape No. 3. WC to HPH, April 3, 1954, relates Ewer's death.

5. Tape No. 3; Brothers, *A Pecos Pioneer*, p. 44. Mrs. Brothers states that Ewer was drunk when he entered the river and that his nickname was "Judge." WC to HPH, January 28, 1955, avers he never heard of the nickname.

6. *Optic*, April 12, 18, 1881

stirring episode. From Lincoln came word that William Bonney, awaiting execution, had killed his jailors there on April 28 and vanished into the mountains. Posses immediately began searching old haunts, and the young outlaw's enemies quickly restricted their traveling. It is generally believed that John Chisum left the ranch upon hearing of the escape, yet evidence to support his presence at South Spring until about the first of June has come to light. A bill of sale for fifty-eight head of cattle, signed by Chisum and dated May 26, was displayed in Las Vegas by John Singer, an itinerant stock buyer, on June 16.⁷ Whatever the case, rumors soon reached the Chisums that the cattleman's life had been threatened.

Especially to enjoy wide newspaper circulation was a story which appeared in the *Las Vegas Optic* three days before Singer's arrival. It stated that Bonney had ridden into a cow camp near Roswell late one evening. Learning the herders were Jinglebob employees, he killed three of them, but spared the fourth and last man to bear the following warning to John Chisum:

Tell him I am living now to get even with my enemies; I shall kill his men whenever I find them and credit him with five dollars for each man I kill. Whenever I see him I intend to kill him and then I will call the account square.⁸

In entirety, this episode smacks of fabrication. It is quite unlikely that Bonney risked recognition near Roswell, a hostile area, when most of his friends lived in or near Fort Sumner. On the other hand, it is very probable that Chisum was responsible for originating the story, as he was utilizing every means to stir civil authorities into action against the fugitive.

Chisum arrived in Santa Fe during the second week in July to testify in the Wilson hearing, which had been post-

7. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1881; Brothers, *A Pecos Pioneer*, pp. 91-2. According to her father's notes, Mrs. Brothers declares that George Swaggert, one of the ranch cooks, drove Chisum to Las Vegas by buggy soon after the cattleman heard of the escape.

8. *Optic*, June 13, 1881. Information for this story seems to have emanated from Santa Fe. The *Arizona Star*, on June 16, 1881, printed it and pointed out that the version had been received from Santa Fe on June 11. Other versions subsequently appeared, the most colored probably being that published by the *Laredo Times* (Laredo, Texas), August 10, 1881.

poned until summer. The *New Mexican* seized the opportunity, true to form, to comment on his apparent temerity. On the 13th it observed: Chisum does not seem to be very concerned about the Kid's threats to take his life. When he gets ready to go anywhere he goes. He was still in the capital city when Marcus Brunswick, a friend in Las Vegas, wired that Bonney had been killed by Sheriff Garrett at Fort Sumner on the night of the 14th.⁹ All of Santa Fe soon knew of the deed by this communication. Chisum made no public statement concerning the incident; it was his nature to decline comment on issues which previously rankled deep in the contemporary mind. As the month drew to a close, it became obvious that the counterfeiting hearing would not be held due to the absence of two witnesses. So, on July 30, the cattleman left Santa Fe and the next day passed through Las Vegas en route to the ranch.¹⁰

Before the end of August, Chisum personally led an armed reconnaissance of Pat Coghlin's range, a hundred miles to the west. The Three Rivers rancher and former beef contractor had been indicted by Panhandle cattle interests on charges of purchasing and butchering stolen beeves and was to stand trial at Lincoln that fall. The Chisum party, consisting of a dozen men, had been alerted for trouble; even "Nigger John" Manlove, the cook, sensed the seriousness and expressed his wont to handle a firearm. The search, which lasted about two weeks, proved uneventful though, and what few stolen cattle as could be located were leisurely trailed back to the Pecos.¹¹

By the early fall, several new buildings had been erected by the Chisums on the south bank of South Spring River. The old square headquarters establishment, used since the spring of 1875, was razed; and on a slight rise several hundred yards to the southeast a new ranchhouse, the "Long House," was completed. It faced west, measured about one hundred and fifty feet in length by sixteen feet in width, and contained eight rooms—four on each side of an open hallway, which was ten feet wide. The walls, made of adobe

9. Maurice G. Fulton to HPH, October 3, 1954. Personal interview.

10. *Gazette*, July 31, 1881.

11. Description from WC to HPH, February 15, 1954, and Tape No. 3.

bricks, were plastered on the inside; the roof was pitched and shingled; and the interior floors and outside verandas, running the length of the structure on both the east and west, were planked. The first room north of the hallway, John Chisum's quarters, was actually a combination bedroom and office. Its basic furnishings consisted of the following: a bed, a small safe, a walnut writing desk, and a heavy wire stand which supported a large dictionary.¹² In construction and outlay, the residence cost over twelve thousand dollars. To a visitor at the Chisum ranch that fall it was

. . . wonderfully modern in all its equipment and furnishings. The fact that his home was two hundred miles from a railroad had not deterred [Chisum] . . . from providing the home with everything the East might have to offer.¹³

East of the Long House, other improvements of note could be seen.

Two utility buildings had been erected, each about twelve feet east of the north and south corners of the house respectively. The walls of these flat-topped, floored structures, which measured twenty by sixteen, were probably constructed with the old adobe bricks from the square house. The single room behind the northeast corner became the commissary; the one to the south was partitioned, the west end serving as living quarters for Aunt Mary Blythe, the Negro housekeeper, and her young son. The opposite room was set aside as a dance hall. Chisum didn't intend to have his ". . . new axministers all beat up by . . . cowboy's hoofs," said one contemporary.¹⁴ Two hundred yards to the northeast, a large barn, with adjoining adobe and piling horse corrals, was put into use. Stretching east from these structures was a section of land with four strands of one half inch wide smooth ribbon wire as a pasture for horses.¹⁵

The system of irrigation was also improved by the addition of new ditches for domestic and agricultural uses. Most

12. Construction and location of the new buildings: WC to HPH, February 8, April 9, May 3, 24, 1954; Tape Nos. 1, 2, 6, 8 and 10. For a description of the ranch in 1885, see Recollections of Mary N. Dow in the *Roswell Record*, October 3, 1938.

13. Poe, *Buckboard Days*, pp. 160-2.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 157. Descriptions of neighboring buildings from WC to HPH, February 8, March 22, May 3, 1954.

15. WC to HPH, February 15, March 5, 1954; Tape No. 12.

important perhaps was the small canal taken out near the head of South Spring River to run under the hallway of the residence and east into the garden. This artesian stream was used exclusively for cooking and drinking purposes. Somewhat paralleling it and passing near the south end of the house was another channel which flowed east through the orchards. Along a majority of these artificial watercourses young willows and cottonwoods were spaced and planted as practicable. About twenty feet east of the house, on the "drinking ditch," three willows were set out and entwined. Later, this growth was called "The Tree of the Three Brothers," referring to John, Pitzer and James.¹⁶ To the west of the new headquarters, two rows of cottonwoods, planted in 1877, were already promising shade and colorful relief to the bleak landscape. Such, in summary, was the physical transformation of the Chisums' center of operations in 1881.

Changes were readily apparent in the Jinglebob range claim at this time too. No longer extending from Bosque Grande down the Pecos to the New Mexico-Texas line, it was now confined to a domain about sixty miles in length, lying between Salt Creek, above Roswell, and Artesia to the south. Although a majority of the far-flung line camps had been abandoned, there continued in use several old-established range sites. The more important were: Yellow Lake, twenty-five miles northwest of Roswell; Stirrup Bend, east of present-day Artesia; Prickly Pear, seventeen miles northeast of the headquarters; Buffalo Valley, twenty miles east; and Good Bend, sixteen miles to the southeast.¹⁷ The ranch, though still extensive, began to assume definable boundaries, particularly with new cattle companies settling along its flanks.

Late in 1881 a mild cattle boom swept the Southwest, and a number of open range stockmen sold their herds to large ranching syndicates, many of which were supported by foreign capital. Such was the case with George W. Littlefield who closed out his LIT holdings in the Texas Panhandle and purchased the land and buildings at Bosque Grande for a new

16. WC to HPH, February 8, May 24, 1954; Tape No. 10.

17. WC to HPH, April 9, 1954.

ranch, the LFD, during the spring of 1882. By summer, nine thousand heifers and cows had been driven in and loosed along the Pecos south of this location. Chisum was away on a trip when his new neighbors to the north began operations, but sometime during the summer he met its manager, Phelps White, when he visited the Jinglebob to purchase bulls. In a letter dated September 29 to a relative in Texas, White commented:

I wish you could see old man Chishoms Ranch & cattle, the best in the Territory. His house cost him twelve thousand Dol All well fitted out, but the old man will have to leave soon as he is getting old.¹⁸

Although nearing sixty years of age, Chisum, through his interest in cattle, remained fairly active however.

Regularly, he continued to import registered bulls from out-of-state sources, and instead of exploiting the steadily rising cattle market, retrenched, retaining the annual heifer crops for breeding purposes. One shipment of graded stock from the East especially received considerable comment. The *Las Vegas Gazette* on April 3, 1883, observed:

Uncle John S. Chisum, the pioneer cowman of the Pecos country, and who is reputed as having owned all the cattle in N. Mexico at one time, has recently imported from Clay County, Missouri, forty-two head of shorthorn Durhams—as fine animals as ever held down hoofs. The cattle cost him from \$150 to \$1500. . . .

In the eyes of the Territory, the Jinglebob continued prosperous.

Chisum probably remained at South Spring during the late spring and summer of 1883, but nothing is presently known of his whereabouts that fall. It is known that by this time he was suffering from a large tumor which had appeared on his neck under the right ear, and that some relief had been realized from treatments by local physicians.¹⁹ Other than the encounter with smallpox in the spring of 1877, which left

18. Haley, *Littlefield*, pp. 137-41. Chisum was in Denton County, Texas, in the early part of 1882. See Deed Book S, p. 492, Denton County, Texas. WC to HPH, March 22, 1954, says his Uncle visited school in the summer of 1882.

19. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 302.

his face horribly pitted, this was the cattleman's only serious and extended illness of record. Concurrent with this decline in his health, Chisum control of the ranch began to disintegrate.

Pitzer was the first of the three brothers to retire from the stock business and leave the Pecos. Circumstances directly responsible for this decision are not clearly known; however, a review of available pertinent information reveals certain conditions which undoubtedly influenced or probably caused the departure. First and foremost, his older brother, John, with whom he had worked for over fifteen years, was in ill health and gradually entrusting the management and finances of the ranch to James and William Robert. Both manifested little experience or insight into the cattle trade. There is no record of jealousy or aspiration on the part of Pitzer regarding this situation, but there is an overtone of disgust. Justification for this feeling arose when his brother and nephew began heavily mortgaging the holdings to perpetuate and expand ranching operations. This jeopardized Pitzer's share in the Jinglebob, a \$100,000 note, previously assigned to him for his land and stock claim. He requested settlement. After some dissension, he finally received—a reliable source says through delusion—\$50,000 in cash. On February 14, 1884, Pitzer married Angie Wells in Paris, Texas. Here, he settled to live out his days, a stoop-shouldered, taciturn old man.²⁰

At Lincoln, New Mexico, two days following his uncle's wedding in East Texas, William Robert executed a \$10,000 promissory note to his father-in-law, James Chisum, for legal title to the bulk, if not all, of the Jinglebob land assets. This was likely done at John's request, for the nephew, who had served as bookkeeper for the ranch for over a year, seems to

20. Lea Statement discusses this situation fairly objectively. Also see Jack Potter to Lamar Moore, May 10, 1941, in the personal files of Lamar Moore, Winslow, Arizona. Potter says: "The version on the range was that he John Chisum transferred the entire estate to the Jinglebob Co with Jim Chisum and his family as beneficiaries, including Wm Robert, Sallie's husband. I was told that he asked them to pay Pitzer Chisum one hundred thousand dollars for his part. And according to my knowledge, the first borrowed went to pay off Pitzer." Potter also notes seeing a Warranty Deed from the Jinglebob Land and Livestock Company to M. J. Farris for \$100,000. Mary V. Daniel to HPH, March 29, 1954, says Pitzer returned to Paris, Texas, early in 1884, with \$50,000 cash in hand. Alexander W. Neville, editor of the *Paris News* (Paris, Texas), in a letter to HPH, dated February 15, 1954, writes that he printed Pitzer's wedding invitations, and sent one for perusal. Pitzer died January 2, 1910, at the age of 75.

have been his choice to direct the subsequent fortunes of the holdings. By this transfer, Robert received a strip of one hundred and sixty acre tracts, extending roughly from near Bosque Grande down the Pecos to Artesia. Deed records indicate that James had begun the acquisition of these homesteads during the spring of 1883, and that prior owners were friends, employees, or relatives of the Chisum family. It is very probable the initial filings had been at the suggestion of the Chisums, for by the early 1880's they were utilizing every means to retain control to a well-watered range along the frontage of the Pecos.²¹ The *Santa Fe New Mexican Review*, on March 6, alluded to the Chisum-Robert transfer, and added that James Chisum had returned to his farm in Denton County, Texas.

John Chisum and his graded Jinglebobs were still being accorded considerable notoriety in the Southwest. For example, the *Denver Daily News*, on April 11, commented:

One of the finest bunches of cattle in New Mexico is controlled by John S. Chisum . . . his herd numbers 30,000 head of the best graded cattle . . . last year 6,000 calves were branded with the U on the shoulder, the distinguishing mark of the cattle king.

In spite of the incapacitating growth which surgery repeatedly and vainly strove to check, Chisum apparently kept quite active. He attended the meetings of the New Mexico Cattle Growers Association at Santa Fe as a representative from Lincoln County; locally, he was an interested and influential member of the Lincoln County Stock Association. More than once in its sessions, he tangled verbally with Captain J. C. Lea over points and procedures.²² This organization was vigorously operated, experienced close co-operation with civil authorities regarding stock theft, and posted liberal rewards. During the late spring of 1884, it paid \$1000 for recovery of cattle previously stolen from the Chisums.²³

Jinglebob beef continued to find steady local and regional

21. Deed Book I, Lincoln County (Carrizozo, New Mexico), pp. 480-554.

22. *New Mexican Review* (Santa Fe), March 5, 1884, mentioned Chisum's membership in the New Mexico Cattle Growers' Association. Maurice G. Fulton to HPH, November 26, 1954, says old timers around Roswell recall the Chisum and Lea disagreements.

23. *New Mexican Review*, May 2, 1884.

markets. Two thousand head were sold at Las Vegas on May 1, and in the weeks that followed a large herd of range cattle, under the supervision of William Robert, were taken to Dodge City for Medicine Lodge parties. On June 23, on his return to the Territory with a carload of thoroughbred bulls, Robert was quoted in the *New Mexican Review* as saying that a trainload of fine grade heifers, one and two years old, would soon be located on the Chisum ranch in southeastern Arizona. This claim, first occupied by Rail brand herds in the early 1870's, lay along the San Pedro River from St. David north to a few miles above Benson. The Jinglebob manager's announcement was not long in stirring ranchers in that locale to remonstrate vehemently.²⁴

Early that fall, the Cochise County Stock Association resolved to prevent by force, if necessary, the entry of Chisum cattle, stating ". . . that if Chisholm with his hundreds of thousands of cattle once gets a foothold here he will drive all the small dealers out. . . ." ²⁵ To this, the *Yuma Arizona Star*, on September 20, replied:

It is difficult to conceive why Mr. Chisholm has not an equal right with any other American citizen, to buy land and graze cattle . . . there is something ludicrous in the idea . . . that intelligent men will interfere with the vested legal rights of John Chisholm or any other man.

Speculation over the move ceased, however, when it became publicly known that the cattle king's health was failing.

Chisum had left South Spring on July 7 to seek medical attention for the tumor, which had enlarged rapidly during the late spring. At his departure from the ranch, "he . . . was very much overcome with parting . . . and for the first time in his life he gave way. . . ." ²⁶ On the 15th, while in Las Vegas, he attended a called meeting with the general stock agent for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad to discuss the possibility of the Lincoln County Stock Association obtaining special shipping rates for their stock. Weeks later at Kansas City, Chisum underwent major surgery.²⁷

24. Edward Vail "Reminiscences;" Edward L. Vail to Mrs. George F. Kitt. Personal interview circa 1937. In the files of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

25. *Sunshine and Silver* (Tucson), September 14, 1884.

26. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 302.

27. *Ibid.*; *New Mexican*, July 7, 1884.

His convalescence was cheered by the news that he had been appointed a deputy commissioner to represent the cattle raising industry in the territories at the Southern Industrial Exposition, which was to be held at New Orleans from December 1 through the following spring of 1885.²⁸ When able to travel, Chisum entrained for New Mexico. Upon arrival at Las Vegas, he began suffering from post-operative complications and was advised by local physicians to spend the winter at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, a popular resort with nationally advertised mineral baths.²⁹

Early in December, at John's request, James Chisum arrived to Eureka Springs to remain with his ailing brother as long as needed. About the middle of the month, newspapers in New Mexico reported that the Pecos cattleman had suffered a serious relapse. During the night of the 22nd, John Chisum passed away.³⁰

According to his brother's wishes, James accompanied the remains to Paris, Texas, where interment had been arranged in the family plot. On Christmas Day the Wildey Lodge administered the final rites appropriate for an Odd Fellow, and John Chisum was laid to rest.³¹

Public announcement in Lincoln County of Chisum's death was made by the White Oaks *Golden Era* on January 1, 1885. After recounting the particulars, it concluded:

Mr. Chisum was one of the pioneers . . . of Lincoln County, having come here at a very early day, and had been identified with its history ever since. Eccentric in many ways, gruff in manner, yet he was always a warm friend, and no man ever looked closer after the pleasure and comfort of the men under his employ. . . .

28. *New Mexican Review*, August 5, 1884.

29. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 302.

30. WC to HPH, May 25, 1954; *The Chronicle* (Las Vegas, New Mexico), December 20, 1884.

31. WC to HPH, April 9, 1954; Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 302. S. M. Williams, Grand Secretary of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, to HPH, February 17, 1954, states Chisum became a charter member of Wildey Lodge No. 21, Paris, Texas, on December 21, 1851.

Notes and Documents

Santa Barbara News-Press, Monday Evening, May 28, 1956

JESSIE FARRINGTON

Mrs. Jessie Prado Farrington, widow of Loftus H. Farrington of 2661 Puesta del Sol Rd., died in a local hospital early this morning.

Mrs. Farrington, who homesteaded in New Mexico half a century ago and married into a titled English family, was born in Crosshill, Glasgow, Scotland, in 1871. She was educated in Scotland, France, Switzerland and Germany.

Because of her great love for horses and other animals, Mrs. Farrington homesteaded alone in 1901 in a place then known as Prather's Flats, near Alamogordo, N. M., where she had many ranch animals. After some years she met and married Loftus Farrington, the second son of Lord Farrington of England, and uncle of the present Lord Farrington. Mr. Farrington had become a rancher in Kansas, where they lived for many years. They came to Santa Barbara in 1920. Mr. Farrington died in 1932.

Surviving are a nephew, Mr. MacMillan of Montreal, Canada, and two nieces, Mrs. J. Nicol of Liss, Hampshire, England, and Mrs. Dougald Mackay of Hatfield, Herts, England.

Shortly after her husband's death, Mrs. Farrington wrote the story of her life as one of the earliest settlers of New Mexico. The account was recently published in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, a magazine published by the University of New Mexico. It also appeared in New Mexican newspapers in connection with a recent centennial celebration.

Funeral services will be conducted Thursday at 11 a.m. at Trinity Episcopal Church, of which Mrs. Harrington was a member. Dr. Evan Williams, assistant rector, will officiate. Interment will be in the family plot in Santa Barbara Cemetery.

[Mrs. Farrington's Memoirs were published in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW* in consecutive issues from April, 1955 to January, 1956. Ed.]

MRS. ALEXANDER M. JACKSON LETTERS

Austin Texas Nov. 10 1867

Dear Grand Ma:

Procrastination the thief of time has so stolen my moments from me that I now find several weeks past since the receipt of your last.

Time rolls swiftly by with us. I am now entering my 17th year and measure nearly six feet in height—so you can imagine that I have grown considerable since I left Ripley now over ten years ago.

Pa is now now very grey, is 44 years old and would be taken to be at least 54. Ma though carries her age very well is 40 years old and does not look according to others a day older than 30. Ally my brother

is at present in business in Hays county. is nearly 15 very low in stature but very heavy.—I have three sisters—Mary the oldest whom you have seen is nearly 12. very tall for her age and very pretty and exceedingly smart speaks French and performs some on the piano is very well advanced at school. Florence the next is now 9 years old small smart a[nd] pretty. Stella is 3 years old. I had another who is now dead. Bessie by name. I am a very poor hand to give family news.

Pa I believe intends to move us back to Santa Fe. Is thinking very seriously of going in February. Some of his friends out there urge him to go and say he can do well out there. As the country is now he can do nothing here. He was elected to the position of Reporter of the Supreme Court of this State and would have done very well had he been let alone. Though not removed by Military Authorities—the Civil Department refuse to pay him for his work now that they have the benefit of it

I am trying to fill a wood contract which I have accepted from a private establishment here and if nothing unforeseen happens can make some money at it.—It will consume all the time from now until Pa expects to leave this country. Negroes have the way here—Loyal Leagues all over the country—The Radical mix with them advise with them—makes speeches &c. and keep them all the time very troublesome to respectable people.

Well I believe I have no news. Jack and Jettie [?] Word both married—Jack lost his wife a few months back and is at present in New Orleans.

Young Jeff was recently admitted to the practice of Law.

Ma sends love to you your family and all enquiring friends
Hoping soon to hear from you

I remain as ever
NAT P. JACKSON

September 13, 1956

Dr. Frank D. Reeve

Editor, New Mexico Historical Review

Dear Dr. Reeve:

I have read with considerable interest "Tomé and Father J. B. R.," by Florence Hawley Ellis, published in Vol. XXX (1955) of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Fray Angélico Chávez' comments on it in the January, 1956, issue, and Dr. Ellis' further comments in the July issue.

I do not wish in any way to minimize the value of studies of the type undertaken at Tomé by Dr. Ellis. Such reports of "what a group of people specifically are or have been doing or saying" now or at any time in the past are an integral part of historical source material. Dr. Ellis has done us a great

service in recording the information she has acquired at Tomé, and Father Angélico has added to the interest of her observations by his critical evaluation of the accuracy of her sources. From the point of view of sound historical interpretation, the use of both approaches is essential. It is true that the historian must "spend the greater part of his time in the library, meticulously consulting what someone else has written," but this is only the beginning. If he is to make proper use of what he has read, he is faced with the much more arduous task of evaluating his sources and their authors in the light of what knowledge he has and can acquire about the background and personalities from which the information comes. Education, training, environment, beliefs, prejudices, character, private interest, and the climate of the times are but a few of the elements that must be considered before the historian can determine the validity and significance of the information he receives from either the written or spoken word. We historians are constantly plagued by the uncritical acceptance by many of our predecessors and contemporaries of what someone has written or said. This tendency has led to the perpetuation of the appalling number of completely unfounded legends current about the history of New Mexico. The myth about the settlement of "Tiguex" by deserters from Coronado's army and the resulting absurd claim for the antiquity of the Chapel of San Miguel in Santa Fe are only one of the more obvious examples.

This is no new problem. In 1776 Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, in a private letter to his superior in Mexico City, complained of the almost insoluble problem of evaluating information received from local citizens: "This means that any information I may furnish your Very Reverend Paternity must first be tested by the fire of close investigation (if possible), reason, and actual proof." Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante encountered similar difficulty in his preliminary investigations on the subject of a route to California from New Mexico: "For although there is some information . . . it is not all credible, for long experience has shown that not only infidel Indians, but even the Christians, in order to raise themselves in our esteem, tell us what they know we want to hear, without being embarrassed by the falsity of their tales."

Throughout the Spanish colonial period less discriminating missionaries and explorers followed will-o'-the-wisps on the basis of misinformation given them, sometimes maliciously, sometimes out of innocent ignorance, superstition, and legend. Such failure to realize the necessity for critical evaluation of evidence is still frequent. To cite another example from New Mexico history: Many people still prefer to accept as authoritative the recollections of Juan de Candelaria, who recorded his childhood memories about the founding of Albuquerque some seventy years later when he was over eighty years old, and to ignore the equally available documents drawn up by the officials who recorded the event at the time it actually happened in 1706.

Archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians, whose fields inevitably overlap, should beware of underestimating the scholarly demands of their colleagues' specialties, and, when they approach the points where they meet, apply the same critical standards that they would abide by on their own undisputed ground.

For my part, I am grateful to both Dr. Ellis and Father Chávez, whose unintended collaboration has increased my knowledge of the interesting old village of Tomé.

Sincerely yours,
ELEANOR B. ADAMS

cc Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis
Fray Angélico Chávez

November 30, 1955

Mr. W. A. Keleher
123 - 15th, S. W.
Albuquerque, New Mexico
Dear Mr. Keleher:

Thank you for your good letter which awaited my return to Chicago.

Vital statistics requested; born — Lincoln, Nebraska in 1893, entered school — Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1900, resided in El Paso 1901 to 1926, graduated — El Paso High School in 1912, no college — alas!, now resident of Chicago where I am Zone Manager for Gulf Oil Corporation. While living in El Paso as a young man I came to have at least a

speaking acquaintance with A. B. Fall, Ben Williams, Man-
nen Clemmens, W. W. Cox, Oliver Lea, Jim Longwell and
others whose names had figured more or less prominently in
New Mexican matters.

I suppose my interest in the Lincoln County War was
first inspired by the fact that Pat Garrett was an acquaintance
of my father's, and on occasion visited our home. In 1915 I
spent six or eight months browsing around New Mexico and
Arizona points of historic interest, talking with old residents
and searching for old newspaper accounts and legal records.
Not much was accomplished except to reach the conviction
that much evidence is inconsistent and contrary.

To try to understand the July-1878 fight at Lincoln, the
subsequent escape from the court house of Billy the Kid, etc.,
I made a rough sketch of the locations of the buildings in-
volved, based on information then obtained locally. This map
has been amended and added to from time to time since, as
evidence is acquired from such sources as the layouts made by
Dr. Ealy and other contemporaries, as well as from an assort-
ment of other sources.

The list of dates grew in much the same way; as con-
temporary newspaper items have come to light, notations
were made of dates important and of less importance, some
papers supplied me by the Tunstall family in England, those
of Col. Dudley's reports which I have been able to examine,
testimony at the Dudley Court of Inquiry, and any number
of other sources have supplied sundry dates. Col. Fulton was
generous in his contributions, particularly in the matter of
relating the items one to another.

. . . perhaps Dr. Reeve . . . will make editorial comment
about how the chronology grew through the years, so that it
will be clear to the reader that infallibility is not claimed for
the list, but that it represents my conclusions after weighing
the reasonableness of evidence which in some instances is
inconclusive or contradictory. Would it be proper for Dr.
Reeve to editorially invite criticism and addition?

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,
R. N. MULLIN

RNM:ms

[The Lincoln County War and the story of Billy the Kid, is, I venture to say, the most popular single episode in the history of New Mexico. Much ink has been spread on the printed page telling the story, and many an argument has grown out of what happened, when it happened, and why it happened. The following list of events can prove of service to writers of all categories who still want to delve into the subject. It need not apply to poets, playwrights and novelists. The canons that govern their writings permit "poetic license" in the use of facts. All other writers beware, especially historians, newspapermen, and school teachers. They are eligible targets of criticism when accuracy yields to carelessness.

If the list below can be improved, readers are invited to try. Pursuit of the absolute truth is a heritage of the ages that is worth keeping alive.

Mr. Mullin's comments above explain how he prepared the CHRONOLOGY. F. D. R.]

CHRONOLOGY — LINCOLN COUNTY WAR MATTERS

- 1824 John Simpson Chisum born.
- 1829 Katherine Antrim born.
- 1831 Lawrence Gustave Murphy born, Wexford County, Ireland.
- 1833 Andrew L. Roberts ("Buckshot") born.
- 1840 Oct. 6 Thomas Benton Catron born near Lexington, Mo.
- 1842 Dec. 1 William Henry Harrison Antrim born, Huntsville, Ind.
- 1850 June 5 Pat Garrett born, N.E. section, Chambers County, Alabama.
May 12 John H. Riley born, Isle of Valencia, Ireland.
- 1852 Torreon erected at La Placita.
Richard M. Brewer born, St. Albans, Vermont.
- 1853 Jesse Evans born.
- 1855 Joe McCarthy (Antrim) born.
Ft. Stanton established.
Capt. Henry W. Stanton, U. S. Cav., killed by Indians at Water Cress Spring on Rio Peñasco.
- 1856 July 13 George W. Coe born.
- 1859 Nov. 23 Kid born — Brooklyn (?) (N. Y. State?) (Claimed).
- 1861 L. G. Murphy joins N. M. Volunteers at Fort Union, as 1st Lieut., having previous military training as Sgt. Maj. in U. S. regular Army.
Murphy mustered out; later re-commissioned as 1st. Lieut. and Regimental Adjutant.

- 1862 Oct. 31 Fort Sumner established at Bosque Redondo, Pecos Valley.
Dec. 30 Fort Sumner occupied by first troops; C. A-5th Inf.
- 1863 Murphy promoted to Capt.; thereafter brevetted Major.
- 1866 Murphy, Col. Emil Fritz and Drummer James J. Dolan mustered out of Army; Fritz and Murphy establish store adjacent to Fort Stanton.
Frank Coe and Ab Saunders homestead and sell farm on Hondo.
T. B. Catron arrives in New Mexico.
- 1866 (or 7) Ash Upson reaches N. M.
- 1867 Robert Casey arrives in New Mexico.
John Chisum arrives in New Mexico.
- 1868 or 1869 Roswell Smith and son, Van C. Smith, first Anglo settlers at community known as Rio Hondo.
- 1869 Socorro County (So. N. M. from Ariz. to Tex.) divided by Territorial Legislature and Lincoln County (named for A. Lincoln) established with Lincoln Town (formerly known as Bonito Plaza) as county seat.
- 1870 Sept. 24 Smiths quitclaim 160 acres, including townsite later Roswell, to T. B. Catron.
- 1872 May 25 (or immediately prior) Post Office established at Rio Hondo and name changed to Roswell.
- 1873 Harrell's ranch established (backed by Murphy).
Mar. 1 Katherine McCarthy married William H. Antrim, Santa Fe.
Apr. 2 Chisum's cattle moved from Black River to ranch at Junction of Salt Creek and Pecos, 18 miles south of Fort Sumner.
May 18 Dolan tries to kill Randlett.
June 7 Emil Fritz departs for Germany.
Sept. Murphy store evicted from Fort Stanton.
Murphy store moved to 3 room adobe — later enlarged to McSween home.
Charles Fritz and Emelie Scholand reach Spring Ranch 8 miles east of Lincoln, just acquired by Charles Fritz from his brother Emil.
Fall Work commenced on "Big Store" at Lincoln.
- 1874 May Ash Upson living at Silver City (Anderson letter).
June "Big Store" opens for business — WFK?
2 (26?) Emil Fritz dies in Stuttgart, Germany (McSween says "about 24th").
Sept. 16 Katherine Antrim dies at Silver City.
- 1875 Lucien Maxwell dies — ?
Jan. 1 Harvey Whitehill becomes sheriff at Silver City.
Mar. 15 McSweens reach Lincoln (his Angel affidavit says Mar. 3).
17 Geo., Lou, and Frank Coe and Ab Saunders reach Lincoln County (Fort Stanton).
Apr. 2 Murphy-Dolan party defeated in Lincoln County nominating meeting at Lincoln.

20 Brady appointed administrator Fritz estate.

May 1 Mesilla News reports that in Lincoln County, the Sheriff, County Clerk, Justice of the Peace, and L. G. Murphy indicted by Grand Jury, and Probate Judge has tendered his resignation to Governor.

Aug. 1 William Wilson kills Robert Casey at Lincoln.

Sept. 15 Juan B. Patron shot in back by John H. Riley at Lincoln.

23 (Thur.) *Henry McCarthy arrested in Silver City for theft of clothes from Charley Sun and Sam Chung.

25 (Sat.) *Henry McCarthy escapes through chimney of jail.

26 *Grant County Herald reports Henry's arrest and escape.

Oct. ? William Wilson sentenced to hang for Casey murder.

29 Upson known to be employed at Mesilla by *Mesilla News*.

Nov. McSween spends a week at Bosque Grande ranch preparing papers for legal action on behalf of John Chisum (collection of debts on a contingent basis).

Chisum boards stage for Arizona at Santa Fe, McSween driving Chisum's horses and buggy back from Santa Fe to Chisum ranch.

Dec. 18 Wilson hanged at Lincoln for murder of Robert Casey.

"Double hanging" first legal execution in Lincoln County.

1876 Gus Gildea reaches Roswell "only one big building" where Lea, helped by Upson, is operating store and post office.

Pancho, Cruz and Ramon Maes captured in Mexico and killed near Shedd's ranch by Lincoln County posse including Jesse Evans.

Feb. McSween and Brady visit Santa Fe.

Summer Small Pox epidemic southeastern New Mexico.

Eight Americans and 75 Mexicans organize (at Lincoln) "to combat stock thieves."

July 1 Frederick C. Godfroy assumes post as Indian Agent to Mescalero.

Early Fall *Kid returns from Mexico (claimed).

Fall *San Elizario jail raid (claimed).

*Sacramento Mt. Indian fight (claimed).

Oct. (some weeks before and also after) Tunstall in Santa Fe.

Saunders wounds Juan Gonzalez at Lincoln.

Nov. Tunstall reaches Lincoln for first time.

Dec. *Kid joins Murphy-Dolan cowboys, unpaid and unofficial, and shortly thereafter joins Chisum forces (claimed).

1877 Jan. Murphy files claim in probate court against Fritz estate for \$76,000.00. Disallowed.

Feb. 9 Murphy deeds land (store site, etc.) to McSween.

Mid-Feb. Widenmann reaches Lincoln.

Mar. 9 W. S. Morton employed by J. J. Dolan & Co.

28 Jim Highsaw kills Dick Smith, foreman for Wylie, Chisum ally.

April Godfrey Gauss enters Tunstall's employ.

- April (circa) 20 Mormon farmers settle on Chisum's South Spring Ranch, led by Jacob Harris.
- May 15 (circa) Dolan kills Hiraldo Jaramillo.
- June 23 Jesse Evans acquitted of murder of Quirino Fletcher (Mesilla).
- July 1 Widenmann ill with smallpox at Lincoln.
- 7 (circa) Tunstall leaves for buying trip to St. Louis.
- 8 Jesse Evans, Frank Baker, Nicholas Provencia (of Mesilla) arrested in El Paso, Mexico, as filibusters.
- 19 Fritz insurance claim paid to Donnell, Lawson & Co., N. Y. Agt.
- Aug. 1 McSween notified of payment of Fritz insurance.
- Aug. Jesus Largo taken from Sheriff Baca and lynched 6 miles north of Lincoln.
- 6 Frank Freeman and Chas. Bowdre fire on McSween house where John Chisum and Geo. Hogg are staying (says *Mesilla Independent*, 8-18-77).
- 12 Armstrong killed by Sheriff's posse at Lincoln.
- 17 "Henry Antrim (alias Kid)" shoots and kills F. P. Cahill near Camp Grant, Arizona.
- 29 J. J. Dolan & Co. borrow \$1,000.00 from J. H. Tunstall.
- Summer Lincoln County Bank established by McSween & Chisum.
- Summer Joe Howard kills Cherokee Indian named Chihuahua.
- August Jesse Evans, Frank Baker, Bill Allen, Davis, Nicholas Provencio and 1 other raid Mescalero Agency.
- Sept. 15 (Sat.) Tunstall reaches Las Vegas en route from St. Louis and is stricken with smallpox.
- 18 (A.M.) Horses belonging to Tunstall, McSween and Brewer, stolen from Brewer's ranch on Ruidoso by Jesse Evans gang.
- 20 Brewer, Scurlock, and Bowdre reach Las Cruces to obtain warrant for Jesse Evans for theft of 4 horses from Brewer's ranch.
- 22 Brewer party returns to Las Cruces from Shedd's ranch near San Augustin where they locate but fail to retrieve the 4 horses in possession of Evans, Nicholas Provencia, Frank Baker, Tom Hill, and 3 others.
- 26 Dolan deeds land (same as conveyed by Murphy Feb. 9) to McSween.
- 27 Evans gang steal 2 horses at Santa Barbara, Doña Ana Co.
- 28 Santa Barbara posse driven off by Evans, Martin, "Buffalo Bill," "Mose," Provencio, Ponciano, Frank Baker (11 in all) at Mule Springs.
- 29 *Mesilla Independent* advertises Dolan & Riley as successors to L. G. Murphy & Co.

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

A Bar Cross Man: The Life and Personal Writings of Eugene Manlove Rhodes. By W. H. Hutchinson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956. Pp. xix, 432. \$5.

Many of the facts filling in the biography and bibliography of the novelist Eugene Manlove Rhodes have been supplied by his wife, May Davidson Rhodes, in *The Hired Man on Horseback* (1938) and by W. H. Hutchinson in *The Little World Waddies* (1946). Now comes Mr. Hutchinson with a new biography, and with an editing of Rhodes' letters and incidental papers. Those who knew the novels and had received a communiqué at one time or another from Rhodes knew what to expect, but others will be surprised at the warm, living, brilliant, opinionated character of the author's correspondence. Rhodes was never a neutral about anything: he either liked you or he didn't; he either agreed with you or he disagreed; he was *for* something or he was against it. He stood on no middle ground. He was a partisan, no bystander. Consequently his letters are filled with his enthusiasms and his friendships, his convictions and his prejudices. You need not be on Gene Rhodes' side in all his likes and dislikes to admire him for his lively interests and his courage in expressing them. I haven't read a book in a long time that gave me more pleasure or set me to reliving and re-arguing all my attitudes on politics, literature, and the current events from about 1910 to 1934. The letters go back a few years before the date 1910, but the reviewer's reactions become personal sometime after that date. Reading the comments of Gene Rhodes, I found him a friendly conversationalist and one of the most interesting figures the American literary scene has produced.

A review is too short to present much of the contents of a fine book, but a quotation or two will offer a glimpse into the mind of Rhodes as it is revealed in his letters: "I am a pioneer, born on the line which just divides the desert from the sown: my life spent, most joyfully, in the utter desert. . . . Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank and Co., simply have no

knowledge of this subject on which they are accepted as the Authorities. The pioneer had a thriving set of vicious habits — but precisely the opposite of the (so called) Puritanical narrowness with which these gentry charge him . . . for the better class of pioneers — hardihood and resourcefulness were not a matter of choice. Hardihood and resourcefulness were forced upon them. . . . The worst pioneers were very bad indeed. We hung them or shot them. Not a few of them, but nearly all of them. The blood-thirsty chronicles of the West are a record of indispensable house-cleaning. Without that clean up life would have been impossible. From the earliest childhood, for the pioneer, every hour was relentless training in self-mastery. Else he could not continue to live. So I can understand how people who believe that self-control is destructive and dangerous would certainly abhor the pioneers.”

For most of his letters, the author signed himself “Gene Rhodes.” In a whimsical mood his signature could appear as “Sniffing Sam” “Indigo Ike” or “The Bar Cross Liar.” Literary critics could hear from “The Venerable Bede” and from “Testy Timon.” Some of his friends received notes from “T. Gregory Hartshorn” or “T. Carifex Hartshorn,” and the family were likely to have a letter from “Doddering Dad.” With only one more excerpt, I leave this book and recommend that readers discover its excellencies for themselves. After telling about a poor abandoned cat they had adopted, Rhodes writes: “We love all living things — horses and cows and lizards. Yes, and they get the idea. We carry sanctuary with us. — At my old ranch, the dear and bear were tame. I would not let them be killed — except killer bears and they were not many. Three bears used to come into the house yard practically every night to pick up scraps. At daylight the big one would rear up by my window and say *Oof!*” I would say that both the animals and the people who ran into Eugene Manlove Rhodes were the better for the experience, that is, if they were the right sort of animals and the right sort of people.

University of New Mexico

T. M. PEARCE

The Pollen Path: a collection of Navajo myths retold by Margaret Schevill Link, With a Psychological Commentary by Joseph L. Henderson. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1956. Pp. 205, frontispiece, 7 illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.

The Navaho specialist is always ready to welcome the publication of new versions of Navaho myths. There are numerous problems which require a large body of available material and many of the recorded tales are still in manuscript form. In spite of the author's accounts of her "own studies made over a period of twenty-five years," with one or perhaps two exceptions, the twelve stories presented in this book appear to be reworked and very much abbreviated versions of myths already published by other authors, especially those in Washington Matthews' "Navaho Legends." There is remarkable similarity in details and it is well known that the variation in Navaho tales is such that most recorded versions are readily identifiable. The author does admit that the stories were gathered from many sources including the writings of Matthews, Wheelwright, Reichard, Hill, and others, but it seems likely that at least eight of the twelve were based essentially on those in Matthews' book mentioned above. There are no acknowledgements to connect any of the stories with specific sources and the author says that they are "retold and remolded" so they hardly merit the attention of the serious student of folklore. If there were some indication as to which elements are actually derived from original field work, the book might have been of some use to the specialist, but this is lacking.

Under new titles are watered down versions of the myths usually known as the emergence (origin legend), the separation of the sexes, monsterway, the trotting coyote stories, changing bear maiden, scavenger (Beadway), self-teacher (Plumeway), the return of the two outside (Upward-reachingway), the visionary (Nightway), and Beautyway. The one tale which seems to present new material is called "In the garden of the home god."

The "psychological commentary" by Joseph L. Hender-

son (pp. 127-140) will doubtless be of interest to devotees of the Jungian school. It is for the reader to decide, however, how much is added to the commentaries of previous Navaho specialists concerning the meaning of coyote, the twins, the visionary, or self-teacher by employing the jargon of this particular branch of psychoanalysis. This section has the advantage over the rest of the book of being well documented by footnote references to a bibliography. The comparison between "Coyote psychology" and the thinking of modern statesmen (p. 134) is quite delightful. It is not stated whether the psychological analysis is based on the tales as presented in this book or on a study of other published versions, but to one familiar with the texts and translations of the long, complete versions (sometimes several hundred pages), the attributions of "naïveté" and "simplicity" or the statement that "these stories could not hold their own with the richly varied folklore of Asia and Europe" (p. 128) indicate that these abbreviated and retold stories may have been the main source.

The appendix contains personal accounts of the author's experiences in the field, and discussions of ceremonial practice, myths, the Navaho pantheon, Navaho songs with translations derived mainly from Matthews' works, Navaho chanters, and sandpaintings. The grouping of the chantways on page 157 gives a number of impressions which do not square with actual fact or practice. Among these are listing the important and frequent Windway complex in a "secondary group of possibilities," giving the very common Evilway ceremonial, Upward-reachingway ("Chant of Waning Endurance"), as one of those which "If you were lucky you might see," including the important and often performed Flintway ("Knife Chant") in a group of rare, obsolete, or doubtful chantways merely "mentioned by investigators," and speaking of witchcraft ceremonies sometimes described as "reversed chants" as if they were actually performed as a part of existing ceremonial practice rather than being in the realm of idea patterns associated with the witchcraft pattern. This section does, however, give the reader a fair idea of present day frequency and importance of Navaho ceremonials, who if he were at all familiar with what actually goes on was

doubtless very much surprised on reading the Preface to learn that the Navaho "medicine man" is "elusive and fast disappearing" and that on the reservation only "the remnants of two or three" of the chantways may be seen, "for they are disappearing fast."

The final section on sandpaintings is very good, and one can agree heartily with the statement in the section on songs (p. 169) that "The often deeply religious response of the Navajo to the beauty and meaning of Nature has to be interpreted by the artist as well as by the scientist." In view of the fact brought out by the author in the last two sentences in the book, namely that colored reproductions of the sandpaintings are difficult and expensive to reproduce and that students need as many as possible for study, it seems a pity that she chose to present as the colored frontispiece a dry-painting which had already been published in color in Miss Wheelright's "Navajo Creation Myth" (1942) rather than a new one. There are hundreds of watercolor reproductions available which might have been used. The black and white illustrations of the myths by the Navaho artist Andrew Tsihnahjinnie are quite delightful. The pictures of the two episodes from the story of changing bear maiden (pp. 58 and 60) are especially lively and interesting examples of his distinctive style.

Boston University

LELAND C. WYMAN

The Cavalry of Christ on the Rio Grande 1849-1883. By Bernard Doyon, O.M.I. Milwaukee: Bruce Press (Catholic Life Publications), 1956. Pp. xiii, 252. \$5.

The Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas where the missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a Catholic order with international headquarters in Paris (since removed to Rome), took up their labors in 1849 is reputed to be the most Catholic region in the whole United States percentage wise. Although the Franciscans preceded them as the first Catholic missionaries in Texas by about three centuries, the Oblates assumed the Franciscan heritage and became pioneers in religion in the Brownsville area during the early days of Texas statehood. The author, a member of the order, maintains that

the Oblates have been such stalwart champions of Catholicism along the Rio Grande "that they have set up a strong barrier against the influx of Protestantism which seeks in hardheaded fashion to penetrate Latin America. . . ."

The headquarters for the American activities of the order was at Montreal, Canada, when the Mexican War ended. An urgent appeal from some citizens of the new city of Brownsville encouraged the Oblates in 1849 to extend their services to the extreme southern part of Texas. It was a humble beginning and remained a difficult undertaking for years to those priests who came to promote the new endeavor. Besides the "Protestant temples which swarmed around" the Brownsville parish there were other obstacles, such as the illiteracy and indifference of the majority group (the Spanish-Americans), periodic yellow fever epidemics which took as victims missionaries as well as members of the flock, persistent financial troubles, and the American Civil War and recurrent revolutions and political disturbances in Mexico which kept Brownsville in almost constant turmoil.

Despite these difficulties the Oblates continued their educational and missionary efforts in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. Outside of Brownsville itself the priests spread their influence as they traveled on horseback among the scattered *ranchos* and missions. These Catholic circuit riders have been called the "Cavalry of Christ," and thus the title of this book. The Oblates also carried on some regular work across the river in Mexico. In 1883 a happy ending for the first period of Oblate missions in Texas came with the establishment of an American province in Lowell, Massachusetts, where the order had other churches and schools. Texas was to share in the life of this new province and would receive the benefit of men, money, and support from New England.

The author, a professor of church history at the De Mazenod Scholasticate in San Antonio, utilized Catholic archival materials in both the United States and Europe and quotes from them frequently. No doubt many of these quotations have never been published before.

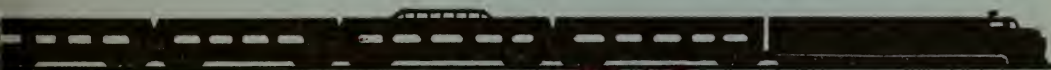
Baylor University

DAVID H. STRATTON

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overland mail centennial
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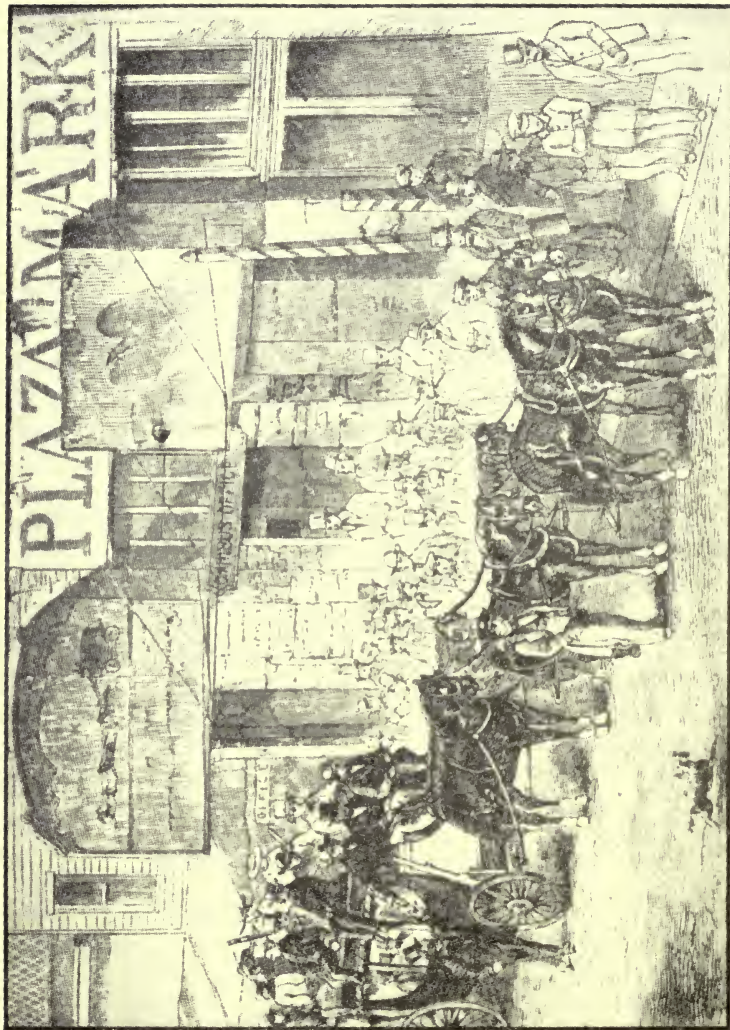
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PORTSMOUTH SQUARE, SAN FRANCISCO
Departure of the first Butterfield Overland Mail

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE SOUTHERN OVERLAND MAIL AND STAGECOACH LINE, 1857-1861

By OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

THE MASSIVE westward migration following the discovery of gold in California and the Mexican Cession in 1848 produced, in its wake, a crying demand for adequate communication between the old East and the new West. There were high hopes that a railroad would someday span the continent, but meanwhile the West demanded regular mail and stagecoach services between the then existing rail terminals on the banks of the Mississippi River and the distant shores of the Pacific Ocean. Prior to 1848 only the most limited, casual, and cumbersome of transportational facilities existed in this area, and these were deemed hopelessly inadequate in meeting the requirements, not only of pivotal California but of other western communities as well.

The trans-Mississippi West could not, as a region, prescribe national policy. Nevertheless, its inhabitants enjoyed a position of strength from which they might, and did, exert significant influences upon American business interests and at the nation's capital with regard to matters concerned with the region's welfare. "California is far distant," wrote Congressman R. H. Stanton in a report on post offices and post roads in 1850, "and it appears to me, that I am stating a self-evident proposition when I say that government itself must either open a way to that distant land, or encourage its citizens so to do. . . ."¹ By pursuance of a policy whereby United

1. *Reports of Committees, House of Representatives, 31 Cong., 2 sess., no. 95, p. 1.*

States contracts for overland mail services were to be awarded to private entrepreneurs, the Federal government adopted, in effect, both of the objectives voiced by Congressman Stanton. During the succeeding six years several federally organized mail routes were established in the trans-Mississippi West to augment the fragmentary ones begun prior to mid-century. But since none of these far western services operating prior to 1856 provided for either regular or rapid passenger and mail services between the settled East and the Pacific coast, it is not surprising to observe that vehement demands for such arose. Popular petitions and entreaties unfortunately became enmeshed with sectional politics, and delays were inevitable orders of the day.

Plans by the Federal government calling for the establishment of regular transcontinental stagecoach mail service were first considered in the wake of an 1852-53 act of Congress providing for a survey of a proposed Pacific railroad. It was generally realized at this time that construction of such a railroad would be several years in the building and that measures should be taken to improve and extend existing mail and general transportational facilities serving the trans-Mississippi West.² A diversity of plans was proposed. At first many of these were directed toward augmenting existing services provided by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, often referred to as the [W. H.] "Aspinwall Contract," whereby mails were carried by steamers to and from New York City and Chagres, overland across the Isthmus, and again by steamers between Panama and ports in Oregon and California. For instance, on February 15, 1853, Postmaster General James Campbell let a contract whereby mails would be conveyed twice weekly between New York and San Francisco by combined steamer and overland services involving use of the historic Mexican land route connecting Vera Cruz and Acapulco.³ And on next October 20, Campbell, in his reports to President Millard Fillmore, proposed, but did not

2. LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869* (Cleveland, 1926), ch. 3. See also Curtis Nettels, "The Overland Mail Issue During the Fifties," *The Missouri Historical Review*, XVIII (July, 1924), pp. 521-24.

3. Report of the Postmaster General, *Sen. Docs.*, 33 Cong., special sess., no. 1, pp. 1-5.

officially recommend, the transport of mail between New York and San Francisco via New Orleans and Nicaragua on a twenty-seven day schedule.⁴ Also during 1853 and for three years following, the Postmaster General's annual reports bespeak a greatly increased activity centering upon extension of mail services by means of horse-drawn vehicles in several but scattered portions of the trans-Mississippi West.

Meanwhile, resolutions from the state of California continued to descend upon the Washington lawmakers. A joint resolution of the California State Legislature, approved March 18, 1854, asked that its Senators be "instructed" and its Representatives "requested" to advocate passage of a law by Congress authorizing augmented weekly mail services between the two oceans, by routes considered "most expeditious and practical."⁵ In another joint resolution by the California Legislature (not dated but received by the Senate December 17, 1853) it is interesting to observe a specific request for improved military and post roads across the Plains. These were deemed "absolutely necessary for the preservation of the lives and the property of the emigrants who wish to settle within our borders."⁶

No less perturbed by the lack of adequate communication with the East were the people of New Mexico who in 1850 registered a population of 61,547 exclusive of Indians.⁷ New Mexico had been organized as a Territory at mid-century and five years later its Legislature likewise pleaded with officials in Washington for more adequate communication services. "Your memorialists, the council and house of representatives of the Territory of New Mexico," reads a Memorial dated December 29, 1855, addressed to Postmaster General Campbell, "would respectfully request, that the people of this Territory have suffered for many years for want of a semi-monthly mail between this Territory and the United States.

4. Report of the Postmaster General, *op. cit.*, 1 sess., vol. III, pp. 768-70.

5. "Resolutions of the Legislature of California," *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., no. 49.

6. *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., no. 2. See also "Resolution of the Legislature of California" favoring construction of overland mail and wagon routes which would include "good roads protected by military stations . . .," *ibid.*, no. 57, pp. 1-2.

7. The Seventh Census: *Report of the Superintendent of the Census . . .* (Washington, D. C., 1853), p. 134.

Our geographical position, being in the centre of the American continent without navigable rivers or means of communication by rail-road, renders our situation as remote from the federal capital in communications through mail facilities as the Sandwich Islands." This Memorial then went on to assert that "The least time in which a reply can be had to any communication from this Territory, is three months, and only then by prompt attention being given to it, and we seldom get a reply from the eastern cities under four months. . . . We think that we deserve, and know that we need, the boon asked for in this memorial. We would, therefore, call your attention to this subject."⁸

The problem facing Congress was, therefore, not so much one of being unmindful of the need for extending regular overland mail services to the trans-Mississippi West; rather it was one of reaching an agreement on specific routes to be established. Intense sectional controversy clearly thwarted agreement on numerous practical proposals. For example, during the months from February through April, 1856, no less than four separate bills, and one again during the following August, were introduced in Congress designed to extend overland mail service to San Francisco.⁹ But none of these were enacted into law.

Finally, out of this succession of unsuccessful attempts to arrive at an accord on an overland mail bill, an agreeable, if not truly acceptable, formula was approved by both houses of Congress, namely, leave the matter of the exact course or route for the contractors to decide upon so long as the eastern terminus would be on the Mississippi River and the western one at San Francisco.¹⁰

With this formula agreed upon one of several attempts to push a measure through Congress was destined to succeed. This final achievement was due in part to careful planning and procedural operations by the sponsors, chief of whom were John S. Phelps of Missouri in the House and William

8. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico . . . 1855-56* (Santa Fé, 1856), pp. 142, 144.

9. Nettels, "The Overland Mail Issue in the Fifties," *op. cit.*, pp. 523-25.

10. Rupert N. Richardson and Carl Coke Rister, *The Greater Southwest* (Glendale, Calif., 1935), pp. 232-33; see also Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, p. 83.

M. Gwin of California in the Senate.¹¹ Provisions for the service actually took the form of an amendment to a Post Office appropriation bill drafted by a senatorial committee on which both Senators Gwin and Thomas Jefferson Rusk of Texas played a leading part. Both these Senators were staunch advocates of an overland mail system which would include California and, so far as Rusk was concerned, the Lone Star State.

In formulating its proposal the Committee clearly profited from past failures in Congress. Moreover, its proposal reflected knowledge gleaned from the *Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . 1853-4* relative to a proposed railroad to the Pacific, from holders of previous mail contracts within the trans-Mississippi West area, and from firsthand experiences of overland mail operators. Accordingly the Committee, in recognizing the problem of sectional interests, chose not to prescribe a precise route. The Amendment simply stated that the Postmaster General be authorized to contract for trans-Mississippi mail service "from such point on the Mississippi river as contractors may select."¹² Moreover, the Committee made a realistic proposal on the matter of remuneration to contract holders, a sum intended to attract responsible bidders.

The proposed Amendment first reached the Senate floor where Senator John B. Weller of California introduced it on August 16, 1856, shortly before adjournment of the first session of the Thirty-fourth Congress. In this first round the Amendment received smooth but indecisive treatment. In defense of the measure, Senator Weller expressed with telling effect his desire to have the United States mails (those not earmarked for delivery abroad) carried over all-American territory rather than, as was then the situation, be dependent upon "foreign Governments [referring to the Aspinwall contract] for their permission to pass our mail from one State to another." And with telling sarcasm Senator Weller reminded his colleagues that while Congress had pro-

11. F. P. Rose, "Butterfield Overland Mail Company," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* (Spring, 1956), p. 62.

12. *The Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., Appendix, p. 321. See also Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, p. 84.

vided for two military roads for the Far West, it would appear that there were those for whom the "liberties of the country" were endangered by the establishment of an overland mail service.¹³ In retort Senator James M. Mason of Virginia recognized the hazards to persons as well as to the mails in crossing the Isthmus, but asked how soon it would be before "an armed force, at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars," would be needed "to protect this mail to California across the continent?"¹⁴ Senator Alfred Iverson, Georgia, implied that in pushing this measure the California Senators were perhaps more interested in personal political credit with their constituents. Senator Iverson was reminded of constituents who raised their price for votes and about whom the officeseeker had said: "My dear friends, always dear, but now dearer than ever."¹⁵ The Amendment reached a vote and passed in the Senate before adjournment, but it failed passage in the Conference Committee.¹⁶

The problem of an overland mail service was thereby back on the lap of the Senate Committee where numerous new proposals were soon to be submitted. During February of 1857 when the Thirty-fourth Congress was again in session there came from this Committee a renewed amendment, the text of which was not greatly unlike the one rejected during the previous August. Again the proposal took the form of an Amendment to a Post Office Appropriations Bill. This time, February 27, 1857, the debate on the proposal became more protracted than had been the case in the previous session. On this occasion Senator Gwin participated actively in debate on the Senate floor in behalf of the overland mail measure. The California Senator pointed out, among other things, that his State was in the grips of a gigantic steamship monopoly (the Pacific Steamship Company) and that the only way to break this stranglehold was to establish overland mail service. The Senate, he said, had passed a bill

13. *The Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pt. 3, p. 2202.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 2203.

16. Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, p. 84. The Conference Committee refers to one representing both Houses of Congress and one which acts upon bills such as the above where differences between a House version and the Senate version of a measure exist.

providing telegraph service; "Now give us a mail [service]." He went on to say that the government has provided for military wagon roads; now let it make use of these roads. Moreover, should a war come, it would place ocean service at the mercy of an enemy; whereas, by implication, an overland mail service through all-American territory would be relatively safe.¹⁷

The objections to the bill appear not to have been to the establishment of a service such as was proposed but to the discretionary powers given the Postmaster General and the contractors in matters pertaining to the route to be adopted. What assurances were there, asked Senator John Bell of Tennessee, that the most practical route would be followed? The Tennessee Senator alluded to the obstacles presented by the Rocky and Sierra Madre ranges, and dangers of Indian attacks. What assurances were there that once the route was established, the operators would not plead for military protection of their facilities and operations?¹⁸ Senator John J. Crittenden, Kentucky, likewise used these arguments as a basis for opposing the amendment. "Wait," he said, "until your line can go a little further towards supporting itself — wait until safety, at least, shall attend your mails and the passengers on board your stage-coaches, before you undertake to establish this sort of system."¹⁹ Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia advanced the same line of reasoning, and he stated further that by providing ocean mail service for the Pacific coast the government had "done no injustice to California."²⁰ Finally, after protracted debate, a "yeas" and "nays" vote was asked on the Amendment which would provide the trans-Mississippi service. There were twenty-four Senators who voted in favor of the measure; ten were opposed. In view of sectional interests and sentiments prevailing during this eve of the Civil War, the alignment or distribution of these votes forms an unexpected pattern with the exception that all senators representing states to be directly benefited by the service voted for the Amendment. All

17. *The Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., Appendix, pp. 307, 308.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 310.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

ten of the opposition votes, including one from the border state of Kentucky, came from the South. And the North, least expected to favor an all-Southern route, gave its solid support.²¹

So with this vote cast the original Bill as amended was again sent to the Conference Committee where it was approved and returned to both Houses; with the full Post Office measure it was given final approval. On March 3, 1857, the Bill, including the amendment, became "An Act making Appropriations for the Service of the Post-Office Department during the fiscal Year ending the thirtieth of June, eighteen hundred and fifty eight." Sections 10-13 inclusive contained the Amendment, and this reads as follows:²²

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the Postmaster-General be, and he is hereby, authorized to contract for the conveyance of the entire letter mail from such point on the Mississippi River, as the contractors may select, to San Francisco, in the State of California, for six years, at a cost not exceeding three hundred thousand dollars per annum for semi-monthly, four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for weekly, or six hundred thousand dollars for semi-weekly service; to be performed semi-monthly, weekly, or semi-weekly, at the option of the Postmaster-General.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the contract shall require the service to be performed with good four-horse

21. Voting for the Amendment were:

Judah P. Benjamin, Louisiana
 William Bigler, Pennsylvania
 Jacob Collamer, Vermont
 Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois
 Charles Durkee, Wisconsin
 Hamilton Fish, New York
 Graham N. Fitch, Indiana
 Solomon Foot, Vermont
 Lafayette S. Foster, Connecticut
 William M. Gwin, California
 James S. Green, Missouri
 James Harlan, Iowa

Those opposed were:

Asa Biggs, North Carolina
 Clement C. Clay, Jr., Alabama
 John J. Crittenden, Kentucky
 Robert M. T. Hunter, Virginia
 James C. Jones, Tennessee

Sam Houston, Texas
 Robert W. Johnson, Arkansas
 George W. Jones, Iowa
 Amos Nourse, Maine
 Thomas G. Pratt, Maryland
 Thomas J. Rusk, Texas
 William H. Seward, New York
 John Slidell, Louisiana
 Charles E. Stuart, Michigan
 John R. Thomson, New Jersey
 John B. Weller, California
 Henry Wilson, Massachusetts

James M. Mason, Virginia
 David S. Reid, North Carolina
 John B. Thompson, Kentucky
 Robert Toombs, Georgia
 David Levy Yulee, Florida

See *ibid.*, p. 321; also *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928).

22. United States, *Statutes at Large*, 34-35 Cong., vol. XI, p. 190.

coaches, or spring wagons, suitable for the conveyance of passengers, as well as the safety and security of the mails.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the contractors shall have the right of preëmption to three hundred and twenty acres of any land not then disposed of or reserved, at each point necessary for a station, not to be nearer than ten miles from each other; and provided, that no mineral land shall be thus preëmpted.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That the said service shall be performed within twenty-five days for each trip; and that before entering into such contract, the Postmaster-General shall be satisfied of the ability and disposition of the parties *bona fide* and in good faith to perform the said contract, and shall require good and sufficient security for the performance of the same; the service to commence within twelve months after the signing of the contract.

Developments pertaining to the selection of a route failed to materialize as envisaged by many supporters of the Act. The Postmaster General whose duty it was to implement this enactment was Aaron Venable Brown. He was a Virginian by birth but he had been a Tennessean of long standing and of high political rank before 1857 at which time President James Buchanan appointed Brown to head the United States Post Office Department.

Bearing in mind the latitude allowed the bidders and the freedom granted the Postmaster General under the terms of the above quoted Act, it is of interest to observe subsequent happenings. Postmaster General Brown has, in effect, related these developments in his official report to the President in 1859, the end of Brown's first two-year stewardship. In all, eight legitimate bids were received. A ninth failed to meet the specifications and was therefore held invalid. Three of the eight were submitted by John Butterfield and associates; the others by James E. Birch; James Glover; S. Howell and A. E. Pace; David D. Mitchell, Samuel B. Churchill, William Gilpin, and others; and finally, James Johnson Jr. and Joseph Clark. Out of these eight bidders, the three by Butterfield proposed southern routes passing through New Mexico Territory. Only one offered a central route, and two indicated no specific route at all.²³

23. *Report of the Postmaster General*, December 1, 1859, in *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35

Diverse as these proposed routes were, none were wholly acceptable to Brown. After what he referred to as "full and mature consideration," the Postmaster General prescribed (contrary to Section 10 which states that "the contractors may select") a route which had not been wholly designated in any one of the eight legitimate bids submitted. The route designated by Brown (he referred to this as an "order") was to have two, rather than one, eastern termini — Memphis, Tennessee, and St. Louis, Missouri. Lines from these two places were to converge at Fort Smith, Arkansas; thence on to Preston, Texas; cross the Rio Grande above El Paso; then go on to Fort Yuma, Los Angeles, and finally San Francisco. "The foregoing route is selected," reported Brown, "for the overland mail service to California, as combining, in my judgment, more advantages and fewer disadvantages than any other."²⁴ All bidders, some of whom had specified somewhat similar courses, consented to having their bids extended to apply to the above route.²⁵

Brown selected from among the bidders a firm representing very substantial financial backing, one offering the greatest background of experience in Western transport enterprises, and one whose individual members were best known at the time to the American public. Brown awarded the contract to John Butterfield of Utica, New York, and his associates who included William B. Dinsmore, New York City; William G. Fargo, Buffalo; James V. P. Gardner, Utica; Marcus L. Kinyon, Rome, New York; Alexander Holland, New York City; and Hamilton Spencer, Bloomington, Illinois.²⁶

Together these seven joint-bidders represented not only stage-coach interests but, even to a greater extent, the interests of the leading express concerns in the United States.²⁷

Cong., 1 sess., pp. 987-88. The Report devotes a section, pp. 986-1011, to what is entitled "Overland Mail Service to California."

24. *Ibid.*, p. 988.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. A. L. Stimson, *History of the Express Companies* (New York, 1858), *passim*; Oscar Osburn Winther, *Express and Stagecoach Days in California* (Stanford, 1936), pp. 43, 54, 54n, 55, 55n; Grant Foreman, "The California Overland Mail Route through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (September, 1931), p. 302; *Harper's Magazine*, LI (1875), p. 322.

Strong a contender for the award as was James Birch, who represented the great California Stage Company, it is doubtful that even he could have matched the resources of the Butterfield group. The express enterprise, first created by W. F. Harnden at Boston in 1839, had enjoyed a growth and expansion matched only by the railroads. Among the pioneers and successful operators of the express business in New York and vicinity were Butterfield, Dinsmore, and Fargo. The first of these had been instrumental in forming Butterfield, Wasson and Company Express which became identified with the New York Central Railroad; the second, Dinsmore, had been a partner in Adams and Company Express; and the third was, as the general public well knew, a partner in the famed firm of Wells, Fargo and Company.²⁸

The terms of the contract, hereafter officially designated as number 12,578, specified that letter mail should be carried twice weekly each way over the prescribed route; not more than twenty-five days were to elapse for each trip. The mails were to be secured in a "boot," preferably under the driver's seat "free from wet or other injury," and should be delivered at post offices enroute. Furthermore, the contract called for use of "good four-horse post coaches or spring wagons," vehicles which could accommodate passengers as well as post. Finally, service was to begin within a period of twelve months. In return for these services the operators were to receive \$600,000 per annum for a period of six years. The contract bearing the above terms and numerous others pertaining to penalties and guarantees was duly signed on September 11, 1857.²⁹

In retrospect, the most challenging part of this remarkable document is the matter concerning roads, or the lack of them. The estimated distance of the prescribed route — constituting as it did a deep, arc-like dip into the South — was 2,795 miles.³⁰ In further justifying this far southern course,

28. *Ibid.*

29. The contract appears in full in Report of the Postmaster General, *op. cit.*, pp. 989-93.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 1003. For the exact mileage of the route as subsequently established, see tabulation in Roscoe P. Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869* (Glendale, Calif., 1947), II, p. 365. Mileage figures vary slightly, depending on who has made calculations, but differences are unappreciable.

Postmaster General Brown commented at length upon its climatic and topographical advantages. He admitted that this route would pass over many mountain ranges; that it would go through country uninhabited, even untrdden, by white people; and that this region was in places inadequately supplied with water. But all these obstacles could be overcome. Here Brown drew upon a report by Captain Randolph B. Marcy³¹ who had long acquaintanceship with the arid Southwest. Marcy had described a terrain where "nature, in her wise economy, has adorned the entire face of the country with a luxuriant verdure of different kinds of grama grass, affording the most nutritious sustenance for animals."³² Brown also submitted the views of John R. Bartlett, Commissioner of the United States-Mexican boundary line, in support of a southern route. He drew upon a communication by Bartlett published in the *Providence* (Rhode Island) *Journal* (August 18, 1857) in which the Commissioner had written in generally favorable terms of the region's smooth terrain and suitability for wagon transit.³³

Brown's staunch defense of a southern route did not allay all criticism of his choice, either within or outside Congress. Many Northerners and Westerners freely and openly castigated Brown for his choice of what they called the "Ox Bow Route." It was, said the *Chicago Tribune*, "One of the greatest swindles ever perpetrated upon the country by the slaveholders."³⁴ But a decision had been made, and steps to provide regular overland mail service to California moved swiftly from the political and legal arena into the area of field preparations.

In anticipation of the contract award a company organization with requisite financial backing had been formed by the Butterfield group. The firm was known legally as "The Overland Mail Company." With John Butterfield as presi-

31. Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York, 1866).

32. Report of the Postmaster General, *op. cit.*, p. 998.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 1005-11. See also John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations . . . Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, During the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53* (New York, 1854), 2 vols.

34. Quoted in Ray A. Billington, *The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860* (New York, 1956), p. 279.

dent, it had been organized as a joint-stock company under the statutes of New York State with a capital stock of two million dollars.³⁵ Thus with an effective business organization and with adequate capital, preparations for the overland service could, and did, move forward with impressive speed and on an equally impressive scale. Since, as previously stated, the contract allowed but twelve months during which all preparations for the service would have to be made, good planning and utmost speed were mandatory.

Even though the Postmaster General had designated specific places through which the line should pass, decision on the routes by which these official landmarks would be joined was left to the discretion of the company officials. So one of the first major tasks was to stake out the prescribed route in the field and to prepare the roadbed. That the Company moved swiftly to this task is clearly evident. Decisions in this important matter were dictated by many factors, chief of which were utility and practicality. Existing railroad and wagon-road facilities were utilized wherever this could be done with economy.

The first east to west portion was the Pacific Railroad (subsequently the Missouri Pacific) then extending westward from the terminal city of St. Louis to Tipton, Missouri. This was a distance of 160 miles. From Tipton the wagon road would wind southward through the Ozark Mountains and on to Fort Smith, Arkansas, on the Canadian River. There the mail line was to be joined by the 318-mile Memphis extension (via Little Rock) as prescribed by the contract. At Fort Smith the route followed a smooth southwesterly course, passing slightly east of Fort Washita, then into Texas by way of Forts Belknap and Chadbourne and on to the Rio Grande River; then up this stream for a distance of about 75 miles to El Paso, or Franklin. Fittingly enough, the old town of El Paso was to become the dividing point, administratively as well as in terms of distance, between the afore-mentioned eastern portion of the line and that which lay to the West.³⁶

35. Conkling and Conkling, *op. cit.*, I, p. 123; III, Plate 10. Other officers were: William B. Dinsmore, Vice-President; Johnson Livingston, Secretary; and William G. Fargo, on the Board of Directors.

36. Report of the Postmaster General, *Sen. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., vol. IV,

From El Paso the Company was to blaze a westward course across water-scant, Indian-ridden New Mexico. It was to reach Tucson, Arizona, 360 miles west of the Rio Grande; then go to the Gila River and along this stream to its confluence with the Colorado at torrid Fort Yuma. Much of this portion of the proposed route was over previously unmarked trails. But as Captain Marcy had contended earlier, the terrain provided a natural roadbed with water at a premium. From this historic outpost of civilization, Fort Yuma, the route was to dip slightly below the Mexican border before pursuing its northwestward gyrations to its goal, San Francisco. The California portion was to pass across Imperial Valley, then wind its way over the Santa Rosa Mountains to Los Angeles. The final stretch north was to be over Tejón Pass and on through the San Joaquin Valley, finally cutting across Pacheco Pass, Santa Clara Valley, and along the San Francisco Peninsula to its Pacific coast terminus.³⁷

For better or for worse, this was to be the 2,795-mile route of the Overland Mail. The task facing Butterfield was one calling for unusual organizational ability and great resourcefulness. Butterfield appears to have offered both as he moved swiftly into the job, not only of laying out and preparing a road but in stocking it or organizing it for service.

Following delineations of the route, Butterfield divided operations between his eastern and his western sections. Into these two elongated divisions he sent his superintendents, construction crews, horses and mules, food supplies, and equipment. Some road grading was done, but this was kept to a minimum. Station sites were located and stations with animal corrals constructed; water was searched for and wells were dug; and if no water was to be found at desired places, arrangements for hauling it were made. Bridges, where fords would not suffice, were also built. Forage and grain for livestock for operational purposes were provided. All these, and countless other, arrangements were made before the service began. Approximately 800 men were employed to operate the

pp. 742-43. By far the most detailed descriptions of the entire route, accompanied by excellent maps, are to be found in Conkling and Conkling, *Butterfield Overland Mail*. The former are contained in vols. I-II; the maps are at end of vol. III.

37. *Ibid.*

line. Distributed and on hand were over 1,000 horses and 500 mules, approximately 250 stagecoaches and special mail wagons, scores of freight wagons and water wagons, harnesses, food, and other assorted equipment and supplies. On hand, too, were superintendents, station keepers, blacksmiths, herders, roustabouts, and, most important of all, stage drivers and conductors. In terms of monetary investment, this represented an expenditure of about a million dollars before receipts.³⁸

In keeping with contract specifications (Section 11) that service be performed with good rolling stock, "suitable for the conveyance of passengers as well as the safety and security of the mails,"³⁹ the Overland Mail Company arranged for the purchase and delivery of the best coaches American manufacturers were capable of producing. Among these were the famous "Concord" coaches manufactured by the Abbot-Downing Company of Concord, New Hampshire. These coaches were known throughout the nation as sturdy, but nevertheless comfortable, vehicles capable of withstanding the rigors of bumpy frontier roads. Their oval-shaped bodies rested on heavy thoroughbraces, or straps slung between the front and rear axles. This suspension enabled the coach bodies to roll rather than jerk or bounce when wheels hit obstructions or sank into depressions on nature's roads. A Concord coach, costing about one thousand dollars, would seat nine to twelve inside, two on the driver's seat, and as many on top as could find a place to sit down.⁴⁰ Less favored by Butterfield was the "Troy" coach manufactured by Eaton, Gilbert and Company at Troy, New York. The Troy coach, of an earlier vintage, was fast losing out in competition with the Concord by the time of the Overland Mail. It was a more lumbering vehicle, but, like the Concord, carried passengers inside and on top. Each type had a rear boot which housed luggage, and space under the driver's seat for the mail-

38. Foreman, "Overland Mail Route Through Oklahoma," *op. cit.*, p. 302.

39. Report of the Postmaster General, *op. cit.*, p. 990.

40. For an account of the history and description of the Concord coaches see Elmer M. Hunt, "Abbot-Downing and the Concord Coach," *Historical New Hampshire* (November 1945), pp. 1-20. See also Winther, *Express and Stagecoach Days in California*, pp. 97-98.

bags.⁴¹ Still a third type was the "Celerity" wagon, one subsequently known in popular parlance simply as the "mud-wagon." Manufactured by James Goold, Albany, New York, this coach was more elongated in appearance due in part to its low body and absence of top seats. It was less comfortable for day riding, but its unupholstered seats could be adjusted for night-time sleeping. It too had thoroughbraces; and due to comparative lightness and maneuverability was favored for mountain driving.⁴²

Four- to six-horse teams were used to pull these coaches which, in addition to the weight of the vehicles and passengers, included baggage (forty pounds allowed for each customer) and from five to six hundred pounds of mail.⁴³

Successful operation of this projected mail and passenger service depended also, as previously stated, on the erection, equipping, and staffing of way-stations. In towns through which the line passed, stations were provided in hotels or other business buildings much as bus lines provide ticket offices within small towns today. But since Butterfield found it necessary to establish stations averaging in distance about twenty miles apart, he found it necessary to build scores of them in open country. In doing this the Company used building materials closest at hand. Stone was used in barren mountainous regions; adobe was used in rockless desert; and of course rough logs and cut lumber were utilized in areas where wood was readily available. These stations varied in size and in scope of operation. But it was not uncommon for self-sustaining stations (those located in open, relatively uninhabited country) to be establishments of sufficient proportions to accommodate anywhere from four to ten employees and a few overnight guests who, due to travel fatigue, elected to make stopovers on their journey. Provision likewise had to be made for livestock, but for this purpose corrals usually sufficed.⁴⁴

41. William Banning and George H. Banning, *Six Horses* (New York, 1928), p. 148.

42. *Ibid.*; Conkling and Conkling, *op. cit.*, I, p. 133.

43. G. Bailey, "Great Overland Mail," Appendix to Report of the Postmaster General, *Sen. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., vol. IV, p. 741.

44. Conkling and Conkling, *op. cit.*, I, p. 135; Banning and Banning, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

Taken as a whole, these preparations were tremendous. But when on September 16, 1858, service was to commence, Butterfield and his associates and employees had met requirements. The line, as finally organized for operational purposes, was not only divided into an East and a West division with Franklin (El Paso) as the division point, but the line as a whole was organized into nine separate divisions. Within these divisions there were at first 141 stations, the number within each division varying considerably due to respective degree of settlement. Therefore Division One, San Francisco to Los Angeles, a total of 462 miles, had 35 stations, varying in distance apart from eight to twenty-four miles. Noticeably different was Division Four, Tucson to Franklin (El Paso). Over this 360-mile stretch which crossed all of the present state of New Mexico, there were only fourteen stations. These ranged in distances apart from fourteen to fifty-two miles. The latter distance was between Cook's Spring and Picacho (opposite Doña Ana) on the west bank of the Rio Grande, New Mexico. In charge of each station was an "agent"; in charge of one or more divisions was a "superintendent."⁴⁵

Postage rates were fixed by the Government at ten cents per letter; rates for packages would vary in accordance with further regulations. Senders of such letters were required to mark them "via overland," or "per overland mail." Passenger fares from St. Louis to San Francisco, or vice versa,

45. Report of the Postmaster General, *Sen. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., vol. IV, pp. 742-43. This contains a complete list of the stations and distances between each. The following is a summary tabulation:

Division	Division Points	Distance in miles	Time Schedule by hours and minutes
One	San Francisco—Los Angeles	462	80
Two	Los Angeles—Fort Yuma	282	72:20
Three	Fort Yuma—Tucson	280	71:45
Four	Tucson—Franklin (El Paso)	360	82
Five	Franklin (El Paso)—Fort Chadbourne	458	126:30
Six	Fort Chadbourne—Colbert's Ferry (Red River)	282½	65:25
Seven	Colbert's Ferry—Fort Smith	192	38
Eight	Fort Smith—Tipton	318½	48:55
Nine	Tipton—St. Louis (Railroad)	160	11:40
Totals		2,795	596:35

Total lapse of time: 24 days, 20 hours, 35 minutes.

were, after some experimentation, set at two hundred dollars. Passengers were given the choice of preparing their own meals or buying them at company stations.⁴⁶ So with these and countless other details taken care of, the Overland Mail Company was ready to begin its service on the last day of grace allowed under the contract — September 16, 1858.

For all the debate and widespread interest in the establishment of a regular overland mail, the actual inauguration of the service took place without much fanfare. The *Missouri Republican*, for example, reported on events at St. Louis in a most matter-of-fact manner, saying: "The first overland mail for San Francisco, Cal., . . . takes its departure this morning from the St. Louis Post Office, at 7 o'clock. It goes by the way of the Pacific Railroad to Tipton, from whence it will be conveyed in coaches and spring wagons the whole of the distance. Mr. J. Butterfield who has given his personal supervision to the work of getting this mail fairly under way in all its parts, goes out with it to Springfield." The *Republican* endorsed the undertaking and extended its special compliments to Postmaster General Brown for having "done more for the mail service in Missouri and the West, in his brief period of office, than any one of his predecessors for a whole term."⁴⁷

Alone in arranging for newspaper coverage of the first westward trek of the Overland Mail was the *New York Herald*, which dispatched a special correspondent to make this initial trip with instructions to make reports. This he did in the form of six articles to this newspaper, subsequently published in the *Herald*.⁴⁸ Given this unique assignment was the youthful (twenty-three-year-old) Waterman L. Ormsby who, as it turned out, became the one and only "through" west-bound passenger on this now historic journey taken a century

46. *Ibid.*, vol. X, doc. 48, p. 2. See also Rockwell D. Hunt and William S. Ament, *Oxcart to Airplane* (Los Angeles, 1929), pp. 92-94.

47. The (St. Louis) *Missouri Republican*, September 16, 1858.

48. The *New York Herald* articles by Ormsby, republished and edited, appear in Lyle H. Wright and Josephine M. Bynum, eds., *The Butterfield Overland Mail* by Waterman L. Ormsby (San Marino, California, 1942). Hereafter cited as Ormsby, *The Butterfield Overland Mail*. An article based solely on Ormsby's account is one by Hybernia Grace, "The First Trip West on the Butterfield Stage," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, VIII (June 1932), pp. 62-74.

ago. Over the first portion of the route Ormsby and John Butterfield were fellow passengers, and this fortunate situation provided the *Herald* reporter with a firsthand source for much of the background information sought for his articles.

The ten-hour train trip across Missouri farm country was made on schedule, and a mere nine-minute transfer from rail to four-horse stagecoach at Tipton⁴⁹ was apparently done without disruption of the Butterfield timetable.⁵⁰

Ormsby's second communication, sent from near the Red River, Indian Territory, reported his reactions to constant day-and-night coach travel. On this first lap of the stageline the correspondent's attention was alerted particularly to covered wagon migrations which appeared constantly in progress. "All along the wildest western roads these [covered wagon] hotels may be met in every direction," he reported, "enlivening the way by their camp fires at night. . . ." At first night driving bothered Ormsby as he recalled his reading of Indian-infested forests and plains and as stump and brush seemed to become transformed into "lurking foe." On and on they rolled as the coach "rocked to and fro on the rough road, like a vessel moving on the sea."⁵¹

Dispatch three covered the route from Fayetteville to Fort Smith through the Ozark Range over which the road was "steep, rugged, jagged, rough, and mountainous." At a place about a hundred miles east of El Paso, on September 28th, came the dramatic moment of meeting the first east-bound stage from San Francisco. Ormsby's fifth dispatch was written at Tucson and relates his reactions to travel across the uninhabited "wilds of Texas, along its lonely plains and barren hills and dangerous frontier to the Rio Grande." Here the new trail was barely in evidence, water was scarce, stations were farther apart than elsewhere, and teams of wild

49. One source reported that on this first trip the mails were transferred from train to coach at Jefferson City, but evidence indicates that the mailbags traveled, as scheduled, to Tipton before being reshipped by coach. See Monas N. Squires, "The Butterfield Overland Mail in Missouri," *The Missouri Historical Review*, XXVI (July 1932), p. 334.

50. Ormsby, *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, pp. 12, 16. The September 16, 1858, westbound timetable, the one followed by Ormsby, is reproduced in facsimile in *Frontispiece* of this book. On the reverse side of this timetable appears a list of nineteen special instructions issued by President Butterfield to his employees.

51. *Ibid.*

mules were at times substituted for tamed well-broken horses. Station facilities were of crudest types. At one of these (Conolly's) seats were "inverted pails or nature's chair." He reported the absence of plates and the use of four tin cups for their black, unsweetened coffee. Solid food at this station consisted of hardtack baked over hot coals, each man breaking off a piece as desired and buttering by use of a pocket knife. But even butter was a luxury in these parts.⁵²

Ormsby's final reports on his journey over the Butterfield Overland Mail line were written at San Francisco and were dated October 10th and 13th, following the conclusion of his near-twenty-five-day journey. These last letters offer a recapitulation of his travel experiences and make observations on the line as a whole. To say, as he did upon arrival at San Francisco, that "I feel almost fresh enough to undertake it [the trip] again" is perhaps an exaggeration. He deemed the southern plains and desert the most "dangerous part" of his journey but none the less exciting and interesting; he found a diet of hardtack, dried beef, raw onions, and black coffee a bit trying in places, the scarcity of water aggravating, the jolting of the stage rugged; but many of the difficulties encountered were capable of being removed. He did not belittle the danger from Indian attacks, and recommended "thorough military protection." He was fulsome in his praise of the Company employees. In summary he said: "To many Americans who travel for pleasure this route will be a favorite. Relieved from all danger of seasickness and the dull monotony of a sea voyage, they can travel by comfortable stages, stopping at such interesting points as they may choose for rest, and enjoying many opportunities for viewing the beautiful, the wonderful, and the sublime products of nature. . . . The overland mail is, at any rate, a fixed fact."⁵³

Ormsby's account of the first westward passage has been matched, fortunately, by a report on the first eastbound trip given by G. [?] Bailey, a special agent for the Post Office Department. Bailey's account differs from the former in two respects; it is an official report addressed to Postmaster Gen-

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 41 ff.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

eral Brown, and it is brief. The report, emanating from Washington, D. C., and dated October 18, 1858, was transmitted by Brown to President James Buchanan with the prophetic words: "It will be an important document, not less instructive at the present time than it may be interesting and curious to those who, in after times, may be desirous to know by what energy, skill, and perseverance the vast wilderness was first penetrated by the mail stages of the United States, and the two great oceans united by the longest and most important land route ever established in any country."⁵⁴

In writing his report Bailey related that he traveled from Washington out to San Francisco over the facilities of the Aspinwall and Panama concern. The initial eastbound stage departed from San Francisco's Plaza September 14th, two days ahead of the contract deadline. Even though "attended with many difficulties and embarrassments," according to Bailey, this trip was made within the prescribed time limit, the elapsed time being twenty-four days, eighteen hours, and twenty-six minutes.

Bailey reported that, in his opinion, the Company had complied with the essential conditions of the contract. He said the line was stocked with "substantially-built" Concord coaches, permanent stations had either been erected or were in the process of being built, water was being specially dispatched to stations where none was obtainable on the premises. "Thus far," he reported, "the experiment has proved successful." The Company, he said, had conquered the physical obstacles, but he warned that it had yet to demonstrate the ability to cope with possible Indian troubles.⁵⁵

The prompt and successful completion of these initial trips appears to have sparked public imagination concerning this gigantic staging venture for the first time. Upon receiving the news of the arrival of the eastbound coach at St. Louis, President Buchanan, from the nation's capital, telegraphed his congratulations to John Butterfield, saying in part: "It is a glorious triumph for civilization and the

54. Report of the Postmaster General, *Sen. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., vol. IV, p. 718.

55. *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 739-41.

Union.”⁵⁶ At St. Louis where the first departure of the Butterfield coach passed without fanfare, the arrival at this city of the first eastbound mail- and passenger-bearing coach was greeted with public cheers. The coach was escorted through the streets leading to the post office by crowds of people led by a brass band. And at San Francisco, reported the San Francisco *Bulletin*, “a shout was raised, that ran with the rapidity of an electric flash along Montgomery street, which throughout its length was crowded by an excited populace.”⁵⁷ Nor did this enthusiasm necessarily abate with the first transits. J. M. Farwell, special correspondent for San Francisco’s *Alta California*, reported upon the termination at St. Louis of his first trip over the route, November 10, 1858: “I . . . find quite as much excitement existing among the people, upon the question of the overland communication, as there was in San Francisco, when I left there some weeks ago. I have been literally besieged with queries in regard to the route. . . .”⁵⁸

The goodwill expressed by the public at the inception of the service fortunately continued.⁵⁹ Salvaged reactions in the form of travelers’ accounts and newspaper commentary tend to convey a favorable reaction to the service offered by the Overland Mail even though many Northerners and Westerners never became reconciled to the location of the “Ox Bow” route as such. There exists, for example, the reminiscent account of H. D. Barrows. In 1896 Barrows recalled for members of the Southern California Historical Society a ride he and his wife took during December, 1860. They traveled via the “Overland” from Los Angeles to St. Louis in “thorough-brace mud wagons.” “Of course the journey was somewhat tedious,” he said, “but . . . the weariness of stage travel was less disagreeable, than sea-sickness.” He commented

56. Quoted in LeRoy R. Hafen, “Butterfield’s Overland Mail,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, II (October, 1923), p. 219. A summary of newspaper sentiment in Missouri is to be found in Squires, “The Butterfield Overland Mail in Missouri,” *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41.

57. Quoted in Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

58. [Walter Barnes Lang], comp., *The First Overland Mail: Butterfield Trail* (n. p., 1940). p. 127.

59. Criticism against the line was seldom if ever of the service on the Butterfield Overland Mail; such was directed against the use of the extreme southern, or “Ox Bow” route. See Squires, “The Butterfield Overland Mail in Missouri,” p. 341.

that at first sleeping aboard the coach was difficult but after a couple of days this could be done "without difficulty, either day or night." When at their journey's end the Barrows found accommodations at the Planters' House at St. Louis where after, and not before, a night's rest they took a warm bath and changed their apparel. After this, "somewhat the worse for wear and tear and dust," they felt "as good as new."⁶⁰

To the end the Company adhered to the charge that the mails must go through. Reports indicate that when passenger stages also carrying mail were delayed the mails would be rushed ahead by means of special light and fast coaches or by means of riders. William Tallack, an Englishman traveling eastbound over the line in 1860, relates such a special transfer of the mails in order that they might make scheduled connections with the Pacific Railroad at Tipton.⁶¹ It is also recorded how on one occasion, near Indian Wells, Arizona, the mail bags were forwarded by two riders. Subsequently these riders were to be caught in a dust storm in which they not only became separated from each other but from their horses as well. But the mail, somewhat delayed, went through to the next station. Mishaps, most often due to broken axles, were common, but somehow the mails and passengers moved forward. Loss of horses due to Indian thefts, especially by the Texas Comanches, were numbered in the hundreds. But these misfortunes did not disrupt overland service, which according to one contemporary writer never once failed to meet the scheduled delivery of the mails.⁶²

In spite of splendid service records there were individuals and groups, especially those with political associations, whose actions were ultimately to have a disruptive effect upon the Overland Mail. In Congress there were critical elements, namely those who because of sectional partisanship and those who on grounds of economy opposed this Southern line. Ul-

60. H. D. Barrows, "A Two Thousand Mile Stage Ride," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* (1896), pp. 40-41, 43.

61. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

62. Rupert N. Richardson, "Some Details of the Southern Overland Mail," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (July, 1925), pp. 1-18; Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Places on the Old Stage Line From Fort Smith to Red River," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XI (June, 1933), pp. 798-822.

timately the decisive disruptive force was the outbreak of the Civil War.

When, for example, the postal appropriations bill came up for debates in the Senate during May and June, 1860, attempts were made to interfere with the Butterfield contract. This took the form of the sponsorship by Senator Milton S. Latham of a central route, St. Louis to Placerville, California,⁶³ and by proposing a re-routing (subject to the Company's approval) of mail over the Butterfield line. Senator Trusten Polk of Missouri arose to object, for he was opposed to any interference with the Butterfield contract. Polk related that this contract had been in operation for two years and that the contractors had "never failed to perform their part." Georgia's Senator Iverson, much as Latham had done, favored modifications in the Butterfield contract. Iverson even went so far as to suggest a shift in the eastern terminus of this line from St. Louis to either Vicksburg or New Orleans. Senator William K. Sebastian of Arkansas, like Missouri's Senator Polk, came to the defense of the Butterfield line: "They have achieved a success that does honor to the enterprise and energy of our American citizens. . . . I propose to leave this line just as it is."⁶⁴ New Hampshire's Senator John P. Hale, while satisfied with the Company's performance, scored small returns in the form of postal receipts.⁶⁵ These receipts (totaling \$71,378.63) were considered a small return on an annual government investment of \$600,000 in the enterprise. Finally, on June 19, 1860, Senator Latham's bill to establish a central overland mail route was laid aside and the controversy ended.⁶⁶

63. *The Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 2, p. 2459. This action was at least in part prompted by a resolution passed by the California State Legislature and sent to its United States Senators asking for "daily" overland mail service. See *Hse. Misc. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., vol. V, p. 1064.

64. *The Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., pt. 3, p. 3147.

65. The report on the volume of postal business, September, 1858, through March, 1860, indicates the following:

Letters received from the West,	244,764	Amount of postages,	\$23,276.11
Letters sent to the West,	441,196	" " "	48,102.52
Total received and sent,	685,960	Total postages,	71,378.63

See *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 2461.

66. For Senate debates during May and June, 1860, referred to above, see *ibid.*, pp. 2458-61; pp. 2113-15, 2458-61, 3146-51. It was the opinion of J. S. Black, Attorney General, as expressed in a letter to Postmaster General Joseph Holt (Brown's successor),

Meanwhile the Butterfield mail and passenger coaches rolled on with amazing regularity. It was said of the Butterfield Overland Mail by the Los Angeles *Star*: "The arrival of the stages of the Overland Mail had been heretofore as regular as the index on the clock points to the hour, as true as the dial to the sun. During all seasons, in cold and heat, in winter and summer, the overland stage has kept its time. . . ." ⁶⁷

The record reveals that the average time of transit over this line, even during the worst seasons of the year, was twenty-one days and fifteen hours. This was comfortably below the mandatory twenty-five days.⁶⁸ By 1860 the volume of mail had increased perceptibly, and the passenger (mostly non-through) traffic had reached near-maximum capacity.⁶⁹ But forces beyond an individual man's powers to conquer spelled doom for the "Ox Bow" line. Secession and outbreak of the Civil War made disbandment of the line imperative. Early in 1861 secessionist elements in the South began either the confiscation or destruction of the Company's livestock, equipment, and road bridges, and thereby put an end, by March 6, to regular through service.

Even before this disruption occurred, the United States Senate had initiated action intended to put an end to the "Ox Bow" route, if not to the Butterfield Company itself. On

that it was doubtful that the Butterfield contract could legally be annulled or modified. Congress had empowered the Postmaster General to enter into a contract which he did without including in said contract the customary provisions allowing for subsequent change. "On the whole," said Black, "my opinion is, that you cannot change the service and reduce the pay of these contractors without violating the faith which the Government pledged to them by the agreement of your predecessor." This opinion Holt transmitted to the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. Doubtless this opinion had a restraining influence on those Senators who sought to kill the Butterfield line through modification or annulment of the 1857 contract. See *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IX, doc. 26, pp. 1-5; see also *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2459-60.

67. Los Angeles *Star*, October 1, 1859, quotation from Foreman, "The California Overland Mail Route Through Oklahoma," *op. cit.*, p. 316.

68. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., pt. 3, p. 2459.

69. Conkling and Conkling, *Butterfield Overland Mail*, II, p. 321. No complete record of passenger traffic exists. Rupert N. Richardson, in "Some Details of the Southern Overland Mail," *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9, arrives at passenger estimates for 1858-59 by means of close scrutiny of newspaper reports of arrivals and departures at St. Louis and San Francisco. He concludes that the total number of "through passengers" for 1858 numbered only about 150 each way. Volume came from selling transportation over sections of the route, in other words, serving local transportation needs. Ocean steamers retained the bulk of the coast-to-coast passenger trade.

February 22, 1861, a bill was again introduced in the Senate which would direct the Postmaster General to modify the contract by making arrangement for the establishment of a central overland route and for the transport of East-West mails on such a route. By acts of Congress, March 2 and 12, 1861, the end was decreed. Congress ordered the modification of the original contract calling for the transfer of the overland mail service from the southern to a central route.⁷⁰ A three-month period of disruption of overland mail service ensued, for it was July 18, 1861, before service over the central route to extend from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento was inaugurated. In making this shift the physical assets of the original Overland Mail Company were transferred to the new line and were put in service over a five-hundred-mile division between Salt Lake City and Virginia City, Nevada. Service over the other sections of the central route was, by government agreement, managed through sub-let arrangements by other concerns.⁷¹ In this manner the southern overland service ended. Thus came to a close a dramatic, picturesque, pioneer experiment in overland passenger and mail service across the wide stretches of the American Southwest on the eve of the Civil War.

70. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 2, pp. 1109 ff.

71. Conkling and Conkling, *Butterfield Overland Mail*, II, pp. 337-38.



A CARRETA AND PACK MULES

SPANISH TRANSPORTATION IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1540-1846

By MAX L. MOORHEAD

THE HISTORY of transportation in the American Southwest is as old as travel itself. Although its most primitive forms — the man-borne pack and the dog-drawn travois — persisted in use until quite recent times, these were largely superseded by Spanish techniques involving large domesticated animals and the wheel. The present study is concerned with these more advanced methods, their development in the region at large, and their particular application to the province of New Mexico. This, then, is a study of the horse, mule, burro, and ox; of the cart and wagon; and, especially, of the organization and operation of the caravan. Most significantly, it is the history of a life-line of a frontier civilization.

The pedestrian pace of primitive travel was quickened in 1540 by the arrival of domesticated horses, for Coronado's expedition is credited not only with having brought the first of these animals into the Southwest but also with having proved the practicability of the pack-train and the saddle-horse in that arid and broken land. However, the early assumption that these particular horses procreated the famous wild mustangs of the region has now been adequately disproved. According to Coronado's muster roll at Compostela, all except two of his 556 horses were stallions,¹ and unless several other mares were recruited after this inspection was made, such as may have escaped from the train could hardly have reproduced themselves in the wilderness. The marked Spanish preference for the stallion rules out the likelihood that many mares accompanied the expedition at all, much less escaped and survived at this early date. More probably, the wild herds of the Southwest stemmed from domesticated stock brought into New Mexico by Oñate in 1598 or by subsequent colonizing parties.

1. Arthur S. Aiton (ed.), "Coronado's Muster Roll," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XLIV, No. 3 (April, 1939), 557, 565.

For many years the Spanish colonists in New Mexico drew for their horses on the stock farms of the interior, and as late as the eighteenth century there was a shortage of horses in the province, for in 1778 the commandant-inspector at Chihuahua was complaining that merchant caravans visiting his city from New Mexico were returning with considerably more horses than they had arrived with, and that measures should be taken to discourage this practice.² Eventually, however, New Mexicans were enlarging their herds from the wild horses of the mesas and canyons, and by the nineteenth century the mustang itself had become the dominant breed of the province. Although still priding themselves on their skill in horsemanship, the New Mexicans had now become indifferent toward animal husbandry, and the propagation of their mounts was being left almost entirely to chance. Traders from the United States found their horses much smaller than American breeds but also hardier and more spirited.³

The poor man's beast of burden was almost always the burro, a more diminutive animal than the horse or mule but infinitely more patient and submissive than either. The burro came to dominate the more localized, farm-to-market transportation and was frequently saddled with a load much larger if not heavier than itself. It was not uncommon for a whole family of *rancheros* to ride into town on the back of a single donkey.⁴ The Spanish jacks and jennets of the Southwest also played a more important role as breeding stock. Together with the horse they produced a much superior beast of burden — the mule.

Much has been written about the Spanish horse in the conquest of the New World, and admittedly the pageantry of the Spanish provinces has sparkled with equestrian glory, but the unsung hero of transportation in the Southwest was unquestionably the Spanish mule. Only one mule accom-

2. José Rubio to Gov. Francisco Trebol Navarro, Chihuahua, January 20, 1778, Spanish Archives, Item 711, Historical Society of New Mexico Collection, at Santa Fe.

3. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (4th ed., 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1850), I, 178-79.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 187.

panied the Coronado expedition,⁵ but more than a hundred of these worthies entered New Mexico with Oñate.⁶ And thereafter this prosaic beast — an ungainly, sterile hybrid — literally bore the white man's burden in the occupation of the region. The mule could pack a load of up to four hundred pounds and could negotiate trails far too precipitous for wagons or even horses. An *atajo*, or mule train, could remain on the road for five or six hours without rest and cover from twelve to fifteen miles a day. As many as two hundred would travel in a single train under the management of a crew of six *arrieros*, or muleteers, for each forty or fifty animals. The skill, efficiency, and endurance of both the mule and the *arriero* became almost legendary.

It is from the observations of foreign travellers, men who were fascinated by what was locally routine, that we are able to reconstruct the techniques of packing by mule train in the Southwest.⁷ In preparing the *atajo* for a *jornada*, or day's journey, the *arrieros* would drive the grazing mules to their line of packs, secure each with a deftly thrown *riata*, or noose, and, working in pairs, go about the time-honored method of loading. First they blind-folded each mule with the traditional *tapajos*, a piece of embroidered leather, so that it would not become frightened in the ensuing operations. Then the *salea*, a soft piece of raw sheepskin, was thrown over its back, to be followed by the *xerga*, a woolen blanket, and then the *aparejo*, or pack-saddle. The latter was a large leather pouch stuffed with straw to prevent the packing cases from chafing the mule's back. The *aparejo* was fastened first with a broad hempen belt slung under the mule's belly and drawn corset-tight and then with a wide crupper to keep it from slipping forward during the jostling of the march. Next came the *carga*, or load, which although weighing more than the

5. Aiton (ed), "Coronado's Muster Roll," *loc. cit.*, 565.

6. Inspection of Juan de Frias Salazar, Río San Gerónimo, January 8, 1598, in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (eds.), *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628* (2 vols., Albuquerque, 1953), I, 215-308.

7. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 106, 180-82; George Wilkes Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition* (6th ed., 2 vols., New York, 1847), 169-72; George Frederick Augustus Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1847), 90-91, 180-81.

arriero himself was pitched aboard with a single heave and adjusted so as to balance evenly on the mule's back. Usually two packages or crates were coupled together with ropes and made to hang on either side. The carga was then bound to the aparejo with a complicated network of knotted ropes and protected from the rain by a *petate*, or mat, which was thrown over the entire pack. This done, the blind-fold was removed, and the animal was ready to travel.

Although painfully tight at the outset, the girths and ropes gradually loosened during the journey as the weight of the load settled the aparejo, and a major occupation of the arrieros was to tighten them again from time to time during the march. This was usually accomplished with such speed and dexterity that no delay was occasioned for the train as a whole. So well were the mules trained to their task that none attempted to overtake its predecessor on the road. Furthermore, when the arrieros prepared for each new day's journey, each mule instinctively went to its own pack and patiently stood by until it was hoisted onto its back and secured. By the nineteenth century the atajo had become a highly institutionalized organization.

The mule served not only as a beast of burden but also as a draft animal, sharing this service with the ox. Most of the wagons and carts accompanying Oñate's expedition in 1598 were drawn by oxen,⁸ but the mule gradually replaced the ox for this kind of duty. The few carriages and coaches owned by Spanish dignitaries in the Southwest were drawn by mules rather than horses, and when the Missouri traders appeared in the nineteenth century with their covered wagons, about half of them exhibited a preference for mules over oxen. Oxen in equal numbers could pull heavier loads, particularly through muddy or sandy stretches, but they also tended to wear out sooner than mules and to weaken on the highland diet of short, dry grass. Most of the traders readily exchanged their jaded American oxen for Mexican mules, for although costing more per head, they endured more strenu-

8. Record of Marches, 1596-98, in Hammond and Rey (eds.), *Don Juan de Oñate*, I, 309-28.

ous travel. Furthermore, the Mexican breed of mules seldom had to be shod.⁹

Among the Mexicans oxen were used principally for drawing the locally-manufactured *carreta*. Owing to the scarcity of iron and steel in the region, the *carreta* was made almost entirely of wood — the axle of pine and all other parts of brittle cottonwood, the whole fastened together with wooden pegs and rawhide thongs. The bed and body of the ox-cart was a rectangular block, usually about four feet long, two and a half feet wide, and about a foot thick. It was crudely hewn from a single cottonwood trunk, and protruding knobs were left on either side. A hole was then drilled or burned through the block, piercing both knobs, which then became the hubs, and a pine rod was inserted to serve as an axle. Two relatively round sections, each about four feet in diameter, were then sawed from the same tree trunk and drilled at the approximate center to serve as wheels. These were secured to the axle with pegs; a pole for a tongue was attached to the body with rawhide; and four posts were imbedded in the corners of the body block to complete the rude contraption. Oxen were attached with the yoke lashed behind rather than in front of their horns according to Mexican custom, and when the cart was in motion the wheels staggered and wobbled, emitting distressing screeches and groans which could be heard for miles. A spare axle for each day's travel was an essential part of the equipment.¹⁰ These primitive carts and the lowly pack burros constituted the chief means of transportation along the lesser roads and trails.

The first wagons or carts of the Southwest were those which arrived in 1590 with the ill-fated Gaspar Castaño de Sosa. The published records of this expedition make frequent reference to the accompanying wheeled vehicles, but they neither identify them precisely nor indicate how many made the trip.¹¹ Apparently they were of sturdy construction, for they survived the rugged journey from Coahuila by way of

9. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 35-36.

10. Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition*, II, 44-46.

11. Dorothy Hull, "Castaño de Sosa's Expedition to New Mexico in 1590," *Old Santa Fe*, III (October, 1916), 305-32.

the Pecos canyon and also the return trip down the Rio Grande valley. The ruts left by these wagons or carts were still visible in the El Paso district when Oñate's expedition arrived in 1598.¹² Oñate's own party brought eighty-three wagons, carts, and carriages into New Mexico. They were variously described as *carros*, *carretas*, and *carrozas*. All may have been merely two-wheeled vehicles, but some had iron-rimmed wheels, covered tops, and teams of from six to twenty oxen.¹³ Twenty-two of these vehicles failed to arrive at the pueblos with the main train, having been left on the road for lack of oxen strength,¹⁴ but presumably they were subsequently recovered. The trail blazed by these carts or wagons from the silver mines of what is now Durango to the pueblos of the upper Rio Grande was never erased. Indeed, this became the *camino real*, or public highway, linking the far-flung New Mexican outposts with civilization in the south. It was the most important wagon road in the Southwest for the next two centuries.

Although Oñate opened the historic road to New Mexico, the transportation system which kept the colonies alive was first organized and operated by Franciscan missionaries. This system, established under royal subsidy shortly after 1609, was designed to supply only the needs of the provincial missions. It provided for a train of wagons that would be dispatched from Mexico City every three years, taking approximately six months to cover the fifteen hundred miles and remaining in New Mexico for a like period of time before starting back. Actually no such schedule was maintained, and sometimes six or seven years elapsed between the train's arrivals. Furthermore, the mission wagons came to serve the lay communities quite as much as the religious establishments, and by the latter part of the seventeenth century this caravan service constituted almost the sole means of communications between the viceregal capital and the New Mexican settlements.¹⁵

12. Record of Marches, 1596-98, in Hammond and Rey (eds.), *Don Juan de Oñate*, I, 315-16.

13. Inspection of Juan de Frias Salazar, in *ibid.*, I, 215-308.

14. Record of Marches, 1596-98, in *ibid.*, I, 328.

15. France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the

According to royal specifications, the missionary supply service was performed by thirty-two wagons operating in two sections, or trains, and managed by four *mayordomos*, or wagon masters, each responsible for eight wagons. The train was to be accompanied by a military escort of from twelve to fourteen soldiers and by numerous spare draft animals and beef cattle. The wagons themselves were of heavy construction, each capable of carrying two tons of cargo and, when fully laden, requiring a team of eight mules. These were four-wheeled wagons, equipped with iron tires weighing twenty-seven pounds apiece and with arched coverings of canvas like those of the later "prairie schooners." Certain other specifications suggest the rugged nature of the long, unimproved road they travelled from Mexico City to Santa Fe. Each group of eight wagons was required to carry sixteen spare axles, 150 extra spokes, twenty-four reserve tires, five hundred pounds of lubricating tallow, twenty-four pounds of cord for repairing the cover and cargo wrappings, and an assortment of nails, bolts, washers, harping pins, cleats, linch pins, and ribs. Among the required tools for each trip were hammers, sledges, adzes, axes, picks, and crowbars.¹⁶

Although theoretically maintained for the exclusive use of the religious establishments of New Mexico, the triennial caravan became in fact a public conveyance. Government officials and even private merchants commandeered the wagons for their own use, and eventually all the people, merchandise, and mail that went to and from the province depended upon the mission wagons. The contractors who furnished the wagons for the service sometimes used them for their own private profit and by so doing often delayed the arrival of the mission supplies. In 1665, for instance, they sold space in half of the wagons to passengers and to merchants sending commercial freight to the mines of Zacatecas and Parral. In 1674, after complaining repeatedly of such practices, the friars managed to buy the wagons and mules from the contractors and operate the service on their own.¹⁷

Seventeenth Century," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. V, Nos. 1, 2, 4 (January, April, October, 1930), 93-115, 186-210, 386-404.

16. Contract of April 30, 1631, in *ibid.*, 105-109.

17. *Ibid.*, 395-96, 398.

But even then the wagons were used for secular purposes. This was especially true in 1680, when the general revolt of the Pueblo tribes wiped out the Spanish settlements of New Mexico and sent more than two thousand refugees fleeing on foot to the El Paso district. These unfortunates were saved from starvation and exposure by the timely arrival of twenty-four wagons of supplies which the father commissary had ordered for their relief from the south.¹⁸

Early in the eighteenth century, after the reoccupation of New Mexico, the mission supplies were once more transported by private contractors, and again merchants availed themselves of the service. Furthermore, judging from an ensuing law suit, the friars themselves assumed at least partial responsibility for the safe delivery of merchandise. A consignment of drygoods, tobacco, chocolate, and sugar which was carried by the mission caravan of 1714 was damaged by a flash flood while crossing the Rio Nazas in northern Durango, whereupon the owner of the goods, a merchant from Parral, brought suit against the custodian of the New Mexican missions. The claimant held responsible not only the custodian but also the wagon master, to whom the friars had given power of attorney, and the endorser of the consignment as well, the latter being the actual owner of the wagons and mules. The merchant hoped to attach the wagons and mules until damages were paid, but the outcome of the litigation is not revealed in the preserved records.¹⁹

During the early part of that century the caravans operating to and from Mexico City seem not to have followed a fixed schedule even though they carried the regular mail. In 1712, for instance, a caravan left for the south in May. By order of the governor its departure was announced at Santa Fe twelve days in advance by the town crier with drum and

18. Fray Francisco de Ayeta to the Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, in Charles W. Hackett (ed.), *The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682* (2 vols., Albuquerque, 1942), I, 212-13.

19. Testimony of Juan Hartus Vallejo, Juan González de Retana, Nicolás Butrín, and Antonio Sánchez, Parral and Mexico City, February 23 to September 26, 1714, Archivo Franciscano, Custodia de Nuevo México, Legajo 6, Documento 5, in the Biblioteca Nacional, at Mexico City.

bugle accompaniment.²⁰ By the middle of the century, when the caravan had become an annual service, it left New Mexico each December,²¹ but eventually the season for its departure was autumn and usually the month of November. This allowed the merchants of the province adequate time in which to attend the fair held at Taos in July or August and return with trade goods from the Comanches and other nomadic tribes that were marketable in the interior provinces.²² Although a regular caravan left Santa Fe in November of each year throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, other trains were made up from time to time for special purposes, particularly for carrying official dispatches to the south.

All caravans, whether regular or special, ran the risk of attack by predatory bands of Indians, especially in the long stretches of unoccupied terrain through which the camino real passed. When these trains were not provided with military escort, they at least depended upon strength in numbers. But this was not always adequate. In 1760, when two hundred armed men accompanied the caravan, it was attacked between El Paso del Norte and Chihuahua by a band of Indians who, although outnumbered by the defenders, managed nonetheless to capture a large number of horses.²³ It was customary for local militia to furnish protection for the annual trains, escorting them to and from designated points on or near the provincial boundaries. The regular caravan leaving Santa Fe in November of 1780 was accompanied as far as the Jornada del Muerto by an unusually large force under the governor himself. Don Juan Bautista de Anza, being enroute to Sonora, obligingly timed his departure to fit that of the caravan and remained with it as far as Fray Cristóbal. For the next fifty-three miles, over the deserted

20. Bando of Gov. Márquez de la Penuela, Santa Fé, May 10, 1712, Spanish Archives, Item 17, Historical Society of New Mexico.

21. Bishop Pedro Tamarón, *Visita del Obispado de Durango, 1759-1763*, ff. 130-35, transcript in the Bancroft Library, at Berkeley, California.

22. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (5 vols., Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1911-1917), I, 453-54.

23. Tamarón, *Visita del Obispado de Durango*, ff. 130-35.

Jornada, the train was without protection. However, by previous arrangement it was met at the spring of El Perrillo by a captain and forty soldiers from the southern presidios of San Elizario and Carrizal, who escorted it to the city of Chihuahua.²⁴ In August of 1800, when another governor set out for the south on official business with an escort of thirty-two troops, several merchants and rancheros took advantage of the protection to drive their livestock and carry produce to the southern markets even though a regular caravan was scheduled to leave three months later. This particular informal train included 18,784 sheep, 213 head of cattle, and a pack train laden with woolen goods and peltries.²⁵ Two years later, in June, a company of citizens and Indians joined a body of troops who were on their way to Chihuahua with a dispatch from the governor to the commandant-general, the entire caravan consisting of eighty-six persons.²⁶

Mail transportation did not depend exclusively on the caravans. Dispatch riders were much faster, especially when working in relays. In 1807 the New Mexican riders exchanged packets with those of Nueva Vizcaya at El Paso del Norte,²⁷ but during the early years of the national period the exchange point was moved some twenty-eight miles north, to the Rancho del Bracito. The riders from the south left Chihuahua on the first and fifteenth of each month and reached the latter point in thirteen days. As Bracito was approximately half way between Chihuahua and Santa Fe, the relay probably traversed the entire distance of 690 miles in from twenty to twenty-eight days, whereas forty days were normally required by the caravans. By the 1840's the mail service between Santa Fe and Chihuahua had become very irregular and uncertain, the riders being almost totally

24. Anza, *Diary of Expedition to Sonora*, in Alfred B. Thomas (ed.), *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787* (Norman, Okla., 1932), 197-99.

25. Gov. Fernando de Chacón to Pedro de Nava, El Paso del Norte, August 30, 1800, Spanish Archives, Item 1503, Historical Society of New Mexico.

26. Chacón to Joaquín Ugarte, Santa Fe, June 14, 1802, Spanish Archives, Item 1604, Historical Society of New Mexico.

27. Nemesio Salcedo to Gov. Joaquín Alencaster, Chihuahua, March 5, 1806, Spanish Archives, Item 1972, Historical Society of New Mexico; Elliott Coues (ed.), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (2 vols., New York, 1895), II, 632.

at the mercy of hostile Indians while on the road. Then the service amounted to a mere express, operating only when important occasion demanded.²⁸

The independence of Mexico from Spain, achieved in 1821, wrought a number of important changes in the transportation of the Southwest. In the first place, even the scant protection formerly offered caravans by Spanish garrison forces was now gone, the young Mexican nation being unable to provide adequate troops for its northern frontier. Indian depredations became even more severe than in the past. In the second place, the achievement of independence liberated New Mexico from its economic reliance on the south, and a regular annual caravan trade between the Mexican and American frontier settlements — the celebrated Santa Fe trade with Missouri — was inaugurated that same year. Thereafter for the next quarter of a century, until the American invasion annexed New Mexico to the United States, Spanish and Mexican techniques of transportation were increasingly modified by American influence.

The introduction of the Conestoga wagon constituted something of a revolution in the region's transportation, for although large wagons had been common in the caravans of the seventeenth century, they seem to have been largely displaced by pack mules during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first American wagons to reach Santa Fe were the three brought in by William Becknell and his trading party in 1822.²⁹ At least twenty-five wagons came with the Missouri caravan of 1824, and thereafter until 1843 from thirty to 130 arrived annually. In 1843 there were 230, and in 1846 over 300 arrived in the wake of the Army of the West.³⁰ Most of these wagons returned to Missouri with the traders, but some were sold in New Mexico. The Americans had less need for them on their return trip with specie and bullion than on the way out with bulky cargoes of drygoods.

28. José Antonio Escudero, *Noticias Estadísticas de Chihuahua* (México, 1834), 186; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 67-68.

29. "The Journals of Captain Thomas Becknell," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (January, 1910), 79-80.

30. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 160; Col. Alexander Doniphan to Adj. Gen. Roger Jones, Chihuahua, March 4, 1847, 30 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, vol. I, 498-502.

Some New Mexican merchants, such as José Chávez y Castillo, went to the United States to purchase wagons. Chávez brought eleven of them to Santa Fe in 1841.³¹ The cost of large American wagons was estimated by one trader as two hundred dollars while mules were to be had for forty dollars and oxen at between seventeen and eighteen.³²

Several makes of American wagons were introduced into New Mexico by the Santa Fe traders, but the favorite was the so-called Conestoga — then manufactured at Pittsburgh but patterned after the historic covered wagons of Pennsylvania's Lancaster County. The distinctive features of this "prairie schooner" were its sagging bed and outward-leaning sideboards and tail-gate (all of which encouraged the cargo to settle toward the center of the wagon); its billowing white canvas hood supported by towering arches which leaned fore and aft at the ends to protect the openings from sun and rain; and its traditional construction materials — white oak for the spokes and framing, gum for the hubs, hickory for the axle trees and cover arches, and poplar for the boards, all amply reinforced with black ironwork.³³ The cargo in these wagons was protected from the elements not only by the vaulted canvas top but also by interior sheeting which was sometimes doubled and insulated between layers with a mackinaw blanket. As a precaution against water damage occurring when the wagon was upset while fording a river, the packages themselves were often wrapped with painted burlap.³⁴ On long trips the wagons usually carried spare axles and also ample supplies of resin and tallow for lubrication. The iron tires wore well, but in the hot, dry plains of the Southwest they became loosened when the wooden wheels shrank and had to be wedged tight or cut through in order to take up the slack. The spokes also shrank in the arid cli-

31. Manuel Alvarez, Memorial to Secretary of State Daniel Webster, Washington, February 1, 1842, pp. 5-6, in U. S. Consular Despatches, Santa Fe, vol. I, National Archives, at Washington.

32. David Waldo, Table of Expenses, in Thomas Jefferson Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in Oregon Territory* (New York, 1843), 33.

33. John Omwake and others, *The Conestoga Six-Horse Bell Teams of Eastern Pennsylvania* (Cincinnati, 1930), 17, 62-72.

34. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 39-40.

mate and had to be bound with leather to keep them from turning in their sockets.³⁵

The employment of American wagons on the highways of Mexico would have been prohibited if a presidential decree issued in 1842 had been enforced. This order, designed to preserve the surfaces of the national roads, banned the use of all wagons having either tires less than the standard Mexican width of eight inches or loads in excess of two hundred *arrobas*, that is, about five thousand pounds.³⁶ Protests against this requirement came not so much from the American traders as from those of Mexico itself, particularly the merchants of Chihuahua, who were now using American wagons in considerable numbers. They insisted that not only their commercial livelihood but also their very defense depended upon these newly-acquired vehicles; whereas pack mules were easily stampeded by attacking Indians, the wagons made excellent parapets; and the narrower tires did no harm whatsoever to the roads of northern Mexico, which were natural highways and never had to be resurfaced or improved artificially. On the strength of such arguments as these the national authorities agreed to submit the regulation to the congress for possible amendment in 1846 and meanwhile to allow a number of Chihuahua traders to use American wagons, but the outbreak of war with the United States in that year prevented further modification.³⁷ Actually this objectionable regulation was never enforced in the northern frontier provinces.

The Conestogas were commonly employed by both Mexican and Missouri traders well into the war years. Merchants who did not own wagons could freight their goods from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe (a distance of 775 miles) in another's train at a cost of only nine cents a pound. Since the average wagon carried 4,500 pounds of goods, the freightage

35. *Ibid.*, I, 104; Report of Lt. J. W. Abert of His Examination of New Mexico in the Years 1846-47, 30 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, no. 7, p. 446.

36. Decree of Gen. Antonio López de Santa Anna, México, January 14, 1842, in Manuel Dublán and José María Lozano (eds.), *Legislación mexicana o colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la independencia de la República* (42 vols. in 45 parts, México, 1876-1912), IV, 97.

37. The correspondence on this subject appears in the Fomento-Camino file, Tomo 13, Expediente 283, in the Archivo General y Pública de la Nación, at Mexico City.

on a load of goods, which was valued at from two thousand to three thousand dollars, was only about four hundred dollars a wagon.³⁸ To this and the original cost of the goods, however, there was added a tariff which the New Mexican authorities collected at Santa Fe.

The ever-changing rates of Mexico's national tariff together with the infinite means employed by American traders to evade the duties finally induced one New Mexican governor, who was himself an important investor in the trade, to establish a purely arbitrary rate of five hundred dollars per wagon-load without reference to either the quantity or quality of the importation. Legal duties had usually averaged from one thousand to two thousand dollars per load, so the new rate was disadvantageous to the merchants only in that it was enforceable. In effect, however, it induced the traders to use larger wagons, some of them carrying up to ten thousand pounds, whereby they doubled the volume of their importation without increasing the customs duty. On reaching the New Mexican frontier with these oversized wagons, moreover, they could redistribute their cargo among fewer vehicles and, by destroying the emptied ones, reduce the per-wagon tax still further, and finally by selling the salvaged iron parts at the inflated prices of New Mexico, they could gain an additional profit. Such practices as these eventually caused the governor to restore the legal *ad valorem* rates.³⁹

As previously indicated, the roads of the Southwest were entirely unimproved prior to the American occupation. Only the sun-dried and travel-packed natural soil constituted a surface. Only the well-worn ruts marked the route itself. There being no bridges, streams and rivers which crossed the trails had to be forded. In the dry season this was usually done at no risk and with little difficulty, but the crossing of the Rio Grande at El Paso del Norte was dangerous, owing to quicksand and a swift current, even when the water was

38. Bill of lading, Independence, August 27, 1844, and Manuel Alvarez to Robert J. Walker, Independence, June 18, 1845, Alvarez Papers, B. M. Read Collection, Historical Society of New Mexico.

39. Charles Bent to Manuel Alvarez, Taos, November 12, 1844, Alvarez Papers, Historical Society of New Mexico; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 112-13; David Coyner, *The Lost Trappers* (Cincinnati, 1849), 216-17.

low. Sometimes at flood-tide the caravan merchants had to unload their cargoes and ferry them across in dug-out canoes or convert the wagons themselves into rafts by buoying the beds with empty water kegs. At other times they dismantled the wagons and ferried them across a section at a time, each precariously balanced on a single pirogue. On such occasions the make-shift crafts frequently overturned, and the dampened cargo had to be unpacked and dried in the sun before the journey could be continued.⁴⁰

Only two bridges seem ever to have been built on the camino real of New Mexico, and neither of these endured for long. In the latter part of the eighteenth century there was a bridge across the Rio Grande at El Paso del Norte. It was over five hundred feet long and seventeen wide, a simple bed of pine logs supported by eight caissons. A supplementary span crossed the large irrigation ditch on the right bank, but both structures demanded frequent repair and replacement during the early years of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Farther north in the same period another bridge crossed the river to San Felipe. It likewise was a simple bed of pine logs resting on eight caissons. These supports were merely wooden crates filled with stone, sand, and clay and sunk into the river bed. The span itself had no hand rails and would support neither carriages nor wagons. It had been built by Indian labor which had been drafted from several pueblos of the Rio Abajo sometime before 1791, but by 1846 it had been entirely washed away.⁴²

There were no wayside inns on the roads of the Southwest, not even on the camino real, and sometimes caravans had to travel days on end without passing a town or rancho where shelter or sustenance could be obtained. On most of

40. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 75; James Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West: Personal Adventures of a Border Mountain Man* (Waterford, Conn., 1875), 76.

41. Gov. Fernando Chacón to Pedro de Nava, El Paso del Norte, August 30 and October 17, 1800; Chacón to Joaquín Ugarte, June 14, 1802; and Rafael Montes to Pedro María de Allende, El Paso del Norte, April 4, 1816, Spanish Archives, Items 1503, 1512, 1604, and 2658, Historical Society of New Mexico; Coues (ed.), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, II, 740.

42. Report of Trials held at Santa Fe and Isleta, December 22, 1791, to April 1, 1792, Spanish Archives, Item 1175, Historical Society of New Mexico; Coues (ed.), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, II, 717; Report of Lt. Abert, 30 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, no. 7, 461-62.

the roads, however, the barren landscape was relieved at almost regular intervals by natural oases — water holes, pastures, or woods — and these became established campsites. Whether merely a spring, a patch of grass, or a grove of cottonwoods along the river, each such resting place bore a name of its own and a distinctive reputation. Although situated many miles from any human habitation, such oases appeared on the maps of the day as prominently as regular towns, and it was the spirited determination of each arriero or mayordomo to bring his train to the venerated site before nightfall. To camp in the open country (that is, at a nameless place) would entail a discomfort which was as much spiritual as physical.⁴³

There were, of course, several long, deserted stretches known as *jornadas*, which caravans tried to cross rapidly — in a single day if possible — in order to reach the water and pasturage beyond. The length of a day's march was determined not only by the means of transportation, by the weight of the cargo, and by the difficulty of the terrain, but also by the availability of water. Travel between closely spaced springs or along running rivers tended to be leisurely, but across the waterless stretches it was usually a forced march.

Many of the distinctive features of Spanish and Mexican transportation in the Southwest were dictated by geographic conditions. The sparse pastures of *grama* grass, the scarcity of water, and the precipitousness of mountain trails which characterized the landscape all made special demands. The distance between settlements and the hostility of Indians were other factors. For long-distance hauling, the terrain required that mules rather than horses or oxen would bear the burdens and draw the wagons. In short, for each peculiarity of the region and of the task the Spaniards developed specific techniques, the soundness of which are adequately borne out by the adaptations which the more technologically advanced Anglo-Americans made of them when they occupied the same land.

43. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 69.

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THE PERILS OF TRAVEL

MILITARY TRANSPORTATION IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1848-1860

By AVERAM B. BENDER

MILITARY transportation has ever presented a problem in the nation's history. From the time of Braddock's ill-fated expedition, inadequate transportation facilities illustrated the paramount necessity of moving men and supplies rapidly to the seat of military operations and has served as no small factor in the development of routes into and across the western country.¹ The War of 1812 again emphasized this essential need. Absence of good roads, it was asserted in the halls of Congress, was responsible for disaster in the early part of the war and increased transportation costs by many millions of dollars.² In the 1830's and 1840's, with the filling in of the Old Northwest and Southwest, the need for adequate transportation commercially as well as militarily became more pressing and the Federal government hearkened to the call by building roads.³

But it was in the years between the Mexican and Civil Wars, when the nation's boundaries reached the Pacific, that this problem reached a more acute stage. With the extended frontier came the California gold discovery and the mighty emigrant waves to the El Dorado. The problem of frontier defense, ever present from the beginning of the nation's history, was truly formidable now. The frontier was much longer and more remote, and the pioneers, though more

Unless otherwise indicated, the manuscript materials used in the preparation of this article are in the National Archives. Abbreviations used are: AGO—Adjutant General's Office. CGS—Commissary General of Subsistence. EOC—Engineers, Office of the Chief. HA—Headquarters of the Army. ID—Indian Division. LB—Letter Book or Books. LR—Letters Received. L and R—Letters and Reports. LS—Letters Sent. LC—Library of Congress. MHS—Missouri Historical Society. PWRO—Pacific Wagon Roads Office. QGO—Quartermaster General's Office. SI—Secretary of the Interior. SW—Secretary of War. SGO—Surgeon General's Office. TEB—Topographical Engineers Bureau.

1. Balthasar Meyer and Caroline E. McGill, *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860* (Washington, 1917), 90.

2. It is probable that \$60,000,000 were spent for transportation during the War of 1812. *Ibid.*, 58-59, 91; *Congressional Debates*, 21 Cong., 1 sess., VI, 637-655.

3. W. Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), 7-9; "The Army Engineers as Road Builders in Territorial Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History*, XLVII (Jan., 1949), 15-33.

numerous, were often dangerously scattered. The Indian was too close to the white man. The National government had acquired an added responsibility — defense of the new frontier.

For more than fifty years, the white man's government, in search for the ideal method of dealing with the Indian, constantly held out an olive branch in one hand and a sword in the other. While it transferred the red man to new homes and gave him gifts or annuities, it also established a chain of forts at the edge of the frontier settlements. Stockaded works in the Indian country, declared Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan Territory would "over-awe the Indians, and . . . restrain their perpetual disposition to war."⁴ Prior to the Mexican War some fifty military posts guarded the nation. It soon became apparent, however, that the extreme western outposts, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border,⁵ would have to be strengthened. Within the next dozen years, a new cordon of forts was gradually extended from the Mississippi River westward along the Arkansas to the Rio Grande, the Gila, the Great Colorado and the Pacific Ocean.⁶

Military stations called for transportation and supply, and to furnish the scattered frontier army with subsistence and other necessities presented no small task. Officers charged with this duty surely had no sinecure.⁷ Garrisons usually required four types of materiel: ordnance supplies; military clothing and equipment; medical and hospital supplies; and subsistence stores. At some of the western posts, garrisoned by mounted troops, forage was an additional primary essential. Arms and ammunition were purchased or manufactured by the ordnance department and distributed to the posts where they were needed. Large quantities of firearms and

4. Francis Paul Prucha, *Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1953), 14; Lewis Cass, *Memoir on Northwest defense*, January 11, 1826, "Military Road in Michigan," *Hse. Rpts.*, 19 Cong., 1 sess., no. 42, p. 13.

5. For the chain of western outposts, see *Sen. Docs.*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., no. 1, pp. 220c-220g; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., no. 1, pt. 2, p. 121.

6. In 1859, Secretary of War Floyd reported 130 permanent garrisons, posts and camps scattered over an area of 3,000,000 square miles. *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., II, no. 2, p. 3.

7. Prucha, *Broadax and Bayonet*, 150; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, p. 216.

munitions were manufactured in government arsenals in the eastern states from materials purchased in Philadelphia and other eastern cities.⁸

Military clothing and garrison equipment — uniforms, hats, shoes, knapsacks, blankets, tents, and numerous other articles — were manufactured⁹ or purchased by the quartermaster's department in the East or on the Pacific coast and were shipped to the nearest military posts and stations.¹⁰ From the East also were sent medical and hospital supplies, though these constituted a rather small part of the total shipments to the interior posts.¹¹

Subsistence stores were furnished by the Commissary General of Subsistence, who procured the supplies by contract or by purchase on the open market. Flour, beans, pork, and other staples were contracted for in Washington and in other principal cities as New York, Baltimore, Charleston, New Orleans, St. Louis, and San Francisco after advertising for bids in the newspapers, giving time and place of delivery. Lowest bids were accepted. For the frontier posts attempts were made to secure supplies in the vicinity. Contracts for flour and fresh beef were made by the assistant commissaries at the individual posts, after sealed bids had been received. Thus, flour for troops in New Mexico was procured by contract and made from wheat grown in that Territory and the neighboring provinces of Mexico. On the Pacific coast, whenever economy would permit, this article was obtained from the mills in the vicinity of the posts. Fresh beef for the Texas posts and on the Pacific was procured in neighboring areas. For the troops in New Mexico, cattle on the hoof were obtained in that Territory, the department grazing and feeding the animals until they were required for use as food.¹² Sub-

8. *Sen. Docs.*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pp. 149, 162-165.

9. During the Mexican War the Office of Army Clothing and Equipage, a branch of the quartermaster's department with headquarters at Philadelphia, operated bootee and tent establishments which produced more than 12,000 bootees and 16,000 tents. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pp. 240-241.

10. United States, *Statutes at Large*, III, 298, V, 513, IX, 149-150 (Hereafter cited as *Statutes at Large*); *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, II, 252; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pp. 240-241; *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, Feb. 10, July 11, 1848, Dec. 22, 1849 (Hereafter cited as *Daily Missouri Republican*).

11. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 11, pp. 6-7.

12. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, p. 244; *ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., no. 2, pt. 2, p. 161; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., no. 1, pt. 3, p. 800; *ibid.*, 36 Cong., 2

sistence stores were issued not to troops alone but also to Indians, government surveying and exploring parties, and to suffering emigrants.¹³

Food supplies for a given post or group of posts were generally contracted for in a single lot, the contractor undertaking to supply all the necessary items — from salt pork to candles — in accordance with specifications drawn up by the Quartermaster General of Subsistence. The annual contracts were generally quite sizable business transactions. In 1849, for example, the year's subsistence stores at Fort Leavenworth amounted to nearly \$27,000.¹⁴ In 1850 twenty-three food contracts were made for the military stations in the Southwest.¹⁵

In view of the huge quantities of supplies involved and the importance of prompt delivery large bonds were usually required, but contracts were not always fulfilled to the satisfaction of the army. Because of the great distances from the source of supply, subsistence stores did not always reach their destination without serious loss or damage.¹⁶ Despite these shortcomings, the frontier soldier, as a rule, had plenty to eat, although he was limited as to variety. The reports of the Commissary General of Subsistence show that contractors furnished some twelve articles of food, but beef, pork, soup, bread, and coffee formed an endless chain in the soldier's menu. In comparison with the forty-odd articles available at the close of the century, the daily ration seems quite meager.¹⁷ One essential food — fresh vegetables — the soldier on the frontier lacked — a deficiency which greatly undermined his health. To supply this need some posts experimented with kitchen gardens, but without much success.¹⁸

sess., no. 1, pt. 2, p. 237; Marcy to commanding officer in California, Nov. 28, 1848, LS, SW.

13. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., II, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 141.

14. For the amounts, annual cost, and variations in price of subsistence stores at the Southwestern posts, see Register of Contracts, Book 7 and LB, Subsistence Department, CGS, 1848-1863.

15. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 11, pp. 8-10.

16. *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, p. 221. See also note 62 *infra*.

17. Register of Contracts, Book 7 (1848-1863), CGS; *Handbook of Subsistence Stores* (Washington, 1896).

18. General Order, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Sept. 11, 1818; General Order No. 1, AGO, Jan. 8, 1851, no. 3, Feb. 9, 1854, no. 18, April 4, 1868, AGO; "Ancient

The military stations on the frontier, of course, had other requirements, which were the responsibility of the Quartermaster General. His department arranged for the transportation and quartering of the troops, provided them with fuel, straw and forage, as well as secured materials needed for constructing barracks, hospitals, and other post facilities.¹⁹ As with subsistence stores, these supplies and services were secured by contract as well as by purchase on the open market — the latter being preferred by the Commissary General of Subsistence, since it was more economical, more certain, and secured a superior grade of goods.²⁰

Supplying the posts near the older settlements with forage and the large variety of needed building materials was a comparatively simple matter. But on the distant frontiers, this posed a real problem. In New Mexico great difficulty was experienced in securing forage for the trains and horses of the mounted troops, the shortage being accentuated by California-bound emigrants who managed to secure whatever surplus there was. In California the grain supply for some years had to be obtained from foreign countries and forage at considerable distances. At posts in treeless areas, bunks and benches were a luxury. Fort Quitman, Texas, for example, did not have "lumber enough for coffins."²¹ In California, lumber, lime, and bricks had to be "sought for at places remote from the [principal] depot [Benicia]."²² Because of the wood shortage, buildings to be used as barracks and storehouses in California in 1850 were sent from Maine and assembled in the Presidio of San Francisco. Major General Persifor F. Smith recommended that "iron houses" be sent to the Pacific coast for use as barracks. And continued General Smith, "if iron houses . . . [prove] feasible," they

Santa Fe," 3-4, Bancroft Library; Rodney Glisan, *A Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874), 111-112; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 133.

19. *Statutes at Large*, III, 426, IX, 149-150; Lurton J. Ingersoll, *A History of the War Department of the United States* (Washington, 1879), 182-183; *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, II, 247-252; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, p. 13.

20. *Statutes at Large*, IX, 149-150; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 122; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., II, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 170; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., III, no. 5, pp. 258-259.

21. *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, pp. 124, 252, 277; Cooper to Lawson, April 4, June 12, 1849, LR, SGO; Mansfield to Thomas, Nov. 7, 1860, LR, AGO.

22. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 251.

may serve "as comfortable habitation for our troops in the newly acquired territories, and on all frontier portions of our country." During 1850 six small iron buildings were sent from New York to California as an experiment.²³

Military supplies and equipment were generally sent to central supply depots and from there forwarded to their respective final destinations. A number of key depots supplied military posts in a neighboring area; Jefferson Barracks, in the outskirts of St. Louis, was an important supply depot. On August 16, 1848, the Steamer "Fort Wayne" arrived in St. Louis, having on board 300 tons of ordnance stores, consisting of bombs, balls, cartridges, etc., to be landed at Jefferson Barracks and intended for western service.²⁴ Prior to 1845 Fort Leavenworth had been an extreme outpost but after the Mexican War it became an important intermediate depot, supplying the chain of posts along the Oregon route and throughout New Mexico. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851, more than 3,000,000 pounds of military stores were transported overland from Fort Leavenworth to the principal western outposts — forts Kearny, Laramie, Scott, Hall, and Santa Fe — at a cost to the government of nearly \$350,000. Of this vast amount of subsistence stores, about one-third was freighted by D. Waldo, Brown, Russell & Co., one of fifteen contractors, and was destined for Santa Fe.²⁵

Indianola and New Orleans were important supply distributing centers for many of the posts in Texas, New Mexico, and in the Cherokee (Oklahoma) country. During the two year period, 1849-1851, more than 5,300,000 pounds of military supplies were transferred from Indianola to San Antonio and from there to the other Texas posts.²⁶ Since the commencement of the Mexican War, San Antonio, headquarters of the Eighth Military Department, had become the

23. *Ibid.*, 123, 246, 254; Jesup to Conrad, Nov. 21, 1850, L and R, book 1, p. 323, QGO.

24. *Daily Missouri Republican*, Aug. 17, 1848.

25. Among the principal items of subsistence stores, in some shipments, whiskey was included. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 222, 239, 295-296; Ogden to Jesup, Sept. 6, 30, 1850 [Enclosure: Fort Leavenworth], LR, QGO; Gibson to Taylor, Sept. 16, Oct. 21, 1850, Feb. 3, 1851, LB 29, pp. 66, 108, 109, 220, Gibson to Taylor [n.d.], 1854, LB 32, p. 98, CGS.

26. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 109, 267.

principal supply depot in the interior of Texas.²⁷ During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851, it sent out more than 2,185,000 pounds of military supplies. Like the other supply depots, it also furnished transportation to detachments of troops bound for the interior.²⁸

Santa Fe was the main military supply depot in New Mexico but with the establishment of Fort Union in 1851 that post became the principal distributing point. To it came regularly supply trains from Texas as well as considerable commercial traffic from the Missouri River.²⁹ In its heyday (at the close of the Civil War) Fort Union, a bristling symbol of United States authority, sheltered some 3,000 military personnel and civilians and had become the largest military establishment on the plains and the supply center for forty or fifty lesser forts within a radius of 500 miles.³⁰ Albuquerque was the important distributing center for quartermaster's stores,³¹ and colorful Fort Yuma, at the junction of the Colorado and Gila rivers, served as the grand supply depot for the posts in the Arizona country.³² Until the latter 1850's when Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives opened the upper Colorado to steam navigation,³³ supplying Fort Yuma from San Diego, more than 225 miles overland and across a vast desert, was a tremendous ordeal and extremely expensive.³⁴

27. Eight stations (forts Martin Scott, Mason, Chadbourne, McKavett, Inge, Clark, Ewell, and Merrill) drew their quartermaster's supplies wholly from San Antonio, and this depot occasionally furnished ten others (Austin, Indianola, Corpus Christi, forts Croghan, Graham, Worth, Belknap, Phantom Hill, Duncan and McIntosh). *Ibid.*, 276-277; William G. Freeman, "Report of Inspection of Eighth Military Department, April 22, 1853," AGO.

28. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 254-258.

29. *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 300; R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1930), 227-239; *Daily Missouri Republican*, March 26, 1853.

30. The famed outpost of the old Santa Fe Trail, established in 1851 and abandoned in 1891, was given National Monument status by act of Congress, approved by President Eisenhower June 23, 1954. William A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travels and Adventure* (London, 1869), I, 122; "Chronology of Fort Union," *El Palacio*, Jan. 19, 1951; *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, Nov. 4, 1955; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 19, 1956.

31. Scott to Cooper, Oct. 3, 1859 [Enclosure: J. E. Johnston to A. A. General, HA, Aug. 24, 1859] LR, AGO.

32. Averam B. Bender, *The March of Empire: Frontier Defense in the Southwest, 1848-1860* (Lawrence, Kans., 1952), 42; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., no. 76, p. 34; Eugene Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861* (Ralph P. Bieber, ed., Glendale, Calif., 1932), 260; "Medical History of Fort Yuma, 1850-1873," AGO.

33. Bender, *The March of Empire*, 84-87.

34. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, p. 84.

On the Pacific coast the principal military depots were San Francisco and Benicia.³⁵

Land and water, of course, formed the principal media of military transportation. Prior to 1845 the problem of transporting men and supplies was comparatively simple. At that time, the remote frontier posts and their distances from navigation were fairly close and easily accessible; some being reached by steamboats and others by steam navigation and wagons.³⁶ After the acquisition of Texas, the Oregon country, and the Mexican Cession, however, when the west of the former frontier line was pushed to the Pacific, military transportation posed a new problem and for two more decades, pack and wagon train were to be the principal vehicles in the Far West. "There is not, as far as I can learn," wrote Secretary of War Conrad in his report of 1851, "a steamboat or railroad line, or even an ordinary turnpike road in Texas, New Mexico, California or Oregon."³⁷ Despite Conrad's pessimism, the amount of military transportation increased enormously in the dozen years preceding the Civil War, and the media were constantly being improved.

With respect to water transportation the army seems to have enjoyed a measure of self-sufficiency. Prior to the advent of the steamboat, army posts situated on navigable waters possessed some boats which were generally operated by the troops.³⁸ By the latter 1840's and 1850's a variety of government water craft served as military transports along the Atlantic seaboard, the Pacific coast area, the Gulf ports, and the principal western rivers.³⁹ The operation of such vessels was generally let out to private contractors.⁴⁰

35. For the history of Benicia Barracks and the distinction between Benicia Barracks, Benicia Arsenal, and Benicia Ordnance Depot—all situated on the same property—see Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army*, 63-64, 309-310; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 309-310; "Outline Index of Forts and Stations" [Benicia Barracks], AGO.

36. Forts Snelling, Leavenworth, Wilkins, Gibson, and Smith were accessible by steamboat; Forts Jesup, Atkinson, and Towson were 24 miles from steamboat navigation, by wagons; Fort Washita 86 miles and Fort Scott 90 miles from steamboat navigation, by wagons. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, p. 109.

37. *Ibid.*, 221.

38. Prucha, *Broadax and Bayonet*, 173; Brant to Jesup, Oct. 23, 1826, "Ft. Snelling," LR, QGO.

39. Jesup to Crawford, Nov. 10, 1849, L and R, book 1, p. 233, QGO.

40. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 11, p. 12.

The army also entered into contracts for transportation of troops, animals, and supplies in the contractors' own vessels, plying between eastern ports and the Pacific coast, as well as between military posts in Texas and California.⁴¹ Army quartermasters arranged for the transportation of large quantities of military equipment, subsistence, ordnance, and hospital stores, and other commodities needed by the garrisons, including building materials, and even saw mills and grist mills. When large quantities were contracted for, the charge was usually expressed at a specified rate per 100 pounds; small shipments were usually charged higher rates for the same distances. The rates also varied with the distance, nature of the supplies, as well as from year to year and from one contractor to another.⁴²

Transportation of troops was a primary consideration, for troops were constantly transferred from eastern rendezvous to the frontier, where they replaced men who had served their terms or who had slipped into the wilderness.⁴³ There was a steady movement of soldiers from post to post. Moreover, changes in defense policy entailed heavy troop movements as established forts were abandoned and new ones built to meet new Indian threats or to protect the advancing frontier of settlement.⁴⁴

Charges for transporting military personnel, as in the case of supplies, also varied from place to place, year to year, and contractor to contractor. In August, 1849, Major J. Belger engaged J. W. Goshee to transport on the steamer "Autocrat" from Jefferson Barracks to New Orleans 22 officers and 354 men of the Seventh Infantry with 108 horses and mules and 20 wagons and forage for the sum of \$10 each for the officers, \$3 each for the men, \$5 each for the horses and mules, \$6.50 each for the wagons and 20 cents per 100 pounds for extra freight. In June of the following year Col. T. F.

41. *Ibid.*, 21-23; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., VI, no. 7, pp. 8-11, 23; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., VII, no. 32, pp. 4-5, 7, 10-13, 24.

42. Examples of variation in military transportation charges per 100 pounds *via* steamer are given in *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., VI, no. 7, p. 23; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., VII, no. 32, pp. 4-5, 10-11.

43. In 1853 Secretary of War Davis estimated that "more than one-third of the army must every year be recruited, and transferred from the depots to their regiments." *Ibid.*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., no. 1, pt. 2, p. 8.

44. Bender, *The March of Empire*, 32-44.

Hunt entered into contract with S. B. Frost to transport on the steamer "Concordia" from New Orleans to Jefferson Barracks five companies of Seventh Infantry with their baggage and stores and horses belonging to the command for \$1,350. In the same month Col. Hunt entered into an identical agreement with Q. C. Bradley to carry a similar contingent on the steamer "Cora No. 2," but the sum was \$2,000. Five years later the steamer "Sam Cloon," transporting 29 men and 1 officer between the same points, received \$5 per man and \$20 for the officer.⁴⁵

The same lack of uniformity in transportation charges prevailed in moving troops from department to department as well as from post to post in the same military department.⁴⁶ Part of the military shipments also included transportation of Indian goods, officers' families to frontier posts and Indians to their new homes. Thus, in March, 1850, Col. T. F. Hunt entered into a contract with Lewis Snapp to transport on the steamboat "Cotton Plant" from New Orleans to Fort Gibson, "such numbers of Indians with their provisions & c., as may be sent on board for the sum of \$10.00 each."⁴⁷

Overland transportation supplemented shipments by water. The wide distribution of the distant posts with portions of the garrisons mounted, created a need for thousands of horses, oxen, and mules for mounting guides, spies, escorts, and troops. In 1848-1849, the movement of troops by land to Oregon, Santa Fe, and El Paso required more than 800 wagons, 3,500 horses and mules, and 3,700 oxen.⁴⁸

The War Department utilized public as well as private media; and, in the interests of economy and convenience, the army provided as much of its own transportation as possible.

45. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 11, pp. 14, 17; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., VI, no. 7, p. 8.

46. Contract: E. A. Ogden with William Stewart, Feb. 2, 1849, "Contract Books," no. 11, p. 234, QGO; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 11, p. 17; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., VI, no. 7, pp. 14, 22; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., VII, no. 32, pp. 29-31.

47. *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 11, p. 14; Jesup to Crawford, Feb. 26, 1849, L and R, book 1, p. 83; Jesup to Davis, April 2, 1855, book 3, p. 142, QGO; LS, SI, ID (1848-1860).

48. Carl Coke Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881* (Cleveland, 1928), 296; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 122; Jesup to Crawford, Nov. 1, 1849, L and R, book 1, p. 282, QGO.

The quartermaster's department generally maintained in many of its army posts and units at least some means of "public transportation." Many of the garrisons had teams of horses, mules, or oxen, which were essential for hauling hay, fuel, and lumber from adjacent areas, as well as supplies over longer distances.

Government trains transported company officers' baggage, subsistence, quartermaster's stores, medical, ordnance and other supplies — usually forage.⁴⁹ Between May and September, 1849, Captain and Assistant Quartermaster S. G. French conducted an army train of about 275 wagons and 2,500 animals from San Antonio to El Paso, a distance of more than 670 miles.⁵⁰ In the following year an army train of 267 wagons and carts, escorted by two companies of Mounted Infantry, carried 767,000 pounds of subsistence stores between the same points.⁵¹ The bulk of the army supplies in 1850-1851 — more than 2,000,000 pounds — was transported from San Antonio in government mule wagons.⁵²

The transportation of nearly all public supplies, in 1852, emanating from Fort Union was by public teams. Quartermaster General Jesup and other military officers favored this method since it was "less expensive than . . . by private contract." Although ox trains were generally used because of the scarcity of water and lack of forage in the territory, mule power was believed more economical and more reliable.⁵³ A typical example of the movement of troops and supplies to the Pacific by public train was that of Captain Rufus Ingalls, Assistant Quartermaster to Col. E. J. Steptoe's command, who conducted the military train of about 300 men, 750 animals, and 70 wagons, from Fort Leavenworth to California in 1854-1855. "I neither lost nor abandoned anything on the way and the horses and mules were in fine condition. The wagons were very acceptable . . .," wrote Ingalls at the

49. Arrie Barrett, "Federal Military Outposts in Texas, 1846-1861," p. 41, M. A. thesis, University of Texas, 1927.

50. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., XIV, no. 64, pp. 41-53; *ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, pp. 302, 316-323.

51. Brooke to Jones, June 13, 1850, LR, HA.

52. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., no. 2, pt. 1, p. 254.

53. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess, II, no. 1, p. 74.

end of his journey.⁵⁴ Not all officers could make such favorable reports.

Throughout this period private contractors supplemented government wagon trains. Between April and October, 1850, fifteen contractors transported more than 3,174,000 pounds of military supplies from Fort Leavenworth to western posts at a cost of more than \$342,000,⁵⁵ and in the following year seventeen contractors delivered similar amounts.⁵⁶ Between July, 1850, and May, 1851, six contractors' trains forwarded more than 255,000 pounds of supplies from San Antonio to five military posts in Texas.⁵⁷

As the years progressed, more and more transport contracts were let by the army. In 1855 officers of the quartermaster's department made 237 contracts for forage, fuel, and transportation — the bulk dealing with the movement of troops from east to west and between western posts. In 1856 a total of 248 contracts were entered into, and in the following year 318 were consummated, about 30% being for transportation of troops, stores, supplies, and ordnance.⁵⁸

The largest single contract (No. 65) for the movement of supplies in 1857 was made by Assistant Quartermaster T. L. Brent at Fort Leavenworth, with Majors and Waddell, who agreed "to transport during the year . . . , any quantity of military supplies from 50,000 to 5,000,000 pounds, on notice varying from ten to sixty days, according to the quantity to be transported, viz.: from forts Leavenworth and Riley, or Fort Union, New Mexico, to any post or depot that is, or may be established in Kansas, New Mexico, the Gadsden Purchase, or in the Utah south of 40°." The rates varied from \$1.12 to \$3.50 per 100 pounds.⁵⁹

54. Traveling along the trail of the 49'ers, Ingalls (Steptoe's command) arrived in Salt Lake City, August 31, 1854, and remained there until the following spring; in June, 1855, the command reached California. *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, pp. 152-166.

55. Ogden to Jesup, Nov. 23, 1850 [Enclosure: "Ft. Leavenworth, Statement of Operations, Apr.-Nov., 1850,"], LR, QGO.

56. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 295-296.

57. These stations were: Austin and San Antonio River, forts Merrill, Duncan, and Croghan. *Ibid.*, 255.

58. *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., VI, no. 7, pp. 1-27; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., VII, no. 32, pp. 1-32; *ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., VII, no. 31, pp. 2-35.

59. *Ibid.*, 8.

The peak of military transportation was reached during the "Mormon War" (1858) when the quartermaster's department was called upon to supply almost 5,000 wagons and carriages, and more than 53,000 draught animals. Of this vast array, contractors Russell, Majors, and Waddell furnished more than 4,000 wagons, 40,000 oxen, and 1,000 mules as well as 4,000 men — in the program of hauling 16,000,000 pounds of army supplies to Utah. Freight costs for that year exceeded \$4,500,000 and that of the following year — aftermath of the Utah Expedition — more than \$5,500,000, a sum greater than that of any other single year spent for military transportation between the Mexican and Civil Wars.⁶⁰

Considerable quantities of military and medical supplies sent by water or overland did not always reach their destination without serious damage or total loss. During the Mexican War, quartermaster and commissary officers reported damages and losses from improper packing and from wrecks on the coast of Texas; lack of proper storage on the Rio Grande also occasioned destruction of stores.⁶¹

Inspectors general, boards of survey, and other military officers, inspecting the western posts, found large quantities of damaged subsistence stores and clothing, and in many instances condemned the spoiled goods. In 1851, for example, a board of survey at Texas and New Mexican posts condemned more than 77,000 pounds of bacon and ham, and smaller quantities of other food stuffs.⁶² Inspector General McCall reported that in transporting supplies to Fort Yuma a loss of about 10% usually occurred. In overland transportation, especially during the summer months, when temperatures ranged between "140° and 150°," meat invariably spoiled.⁶³

60. *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 1, pt. 3, p. 797; Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (New York, 1893), 142-144; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Aug. 27, 1858; Jesup to Floyd, Nov. 13, 1858, Oct. 31, 1859, L and R, book 4, pp. 491, 495, book 5, p. 173, QGO.

61. *Sen. Docs.*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, p. 190; Jesup to S. W., Jan. 1, 1847, Jesup to Gibson, Jan. 2, 1847, "Jesup Correspondence," LC.

62. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 251-253; Jesup to Floyd, Nov. 21, 1857, L and R, book 4, p. 131, QGO; Gibson to Plympton, Jan. 19, 1855, LB 33, p. 28, CGS. See note 16 *supra*.

63. McCall to Scott, June 14, 1852 [Enclosure: Fort Yuma], LR, QGO.

On the Pacific coast, supplies carried by water were sometimes lost or seriously damaged. Late in December, 1851, the government transport schooner "Captain Lincoln," sailing from San Francisco northward with a detachment of dragoons and stores, stranded, and more than 28,000 pounds of various articles of food were badly damaged.⁶⁴ In 1859 Lieutenant Julian May, commissary officer at Fort Union reported that stores consigned to him were "much damaged in transportation, especially sugar and such other articles as are not protected by strong boxes." A large quantity of sugar, May continued, "was spoiled by being brought out under bacon." In the same year Inspector General J. E. Johnston found the flour at Albuquerque quite bad.⁶⁵

Medical supplies and equipment were regularly damaged, destroyed, or lost in transit to the more distant stations, the Surgeon General complained. "Among the losses sustained during the last year [1851] . . ." he reported "about \$2,000, value . . . lost by sinking of the steamer 'Jefferson' in the Arkansas River and about \$500 lost in transportation from . . . Benicia to other posts in California." Many medical supplies were a total loss due to their perishable character and improper containers. Losses also resulted from breakage and in trans-shipment — from ship to steamboat, from steamer to steamer, and then on a "long and divided line of transportation in wagons or on pack horses."⁶⁶

Moreover, there was always a transportation personnel problem! Captains of sailing vessels and steamers, temporary storekeepers, wagon masters, conductors of pack horsemen, teamsters and muleteers rarely understood the delicate character of medicines and medical supplies. "These people," declared Surgeon General Lawson, "handle a box containing the choicest medicines as roughly and recklessly as if they were boxes of camp kettles and mess pans, or a bundle of spades and pick-axes."⁶⁷

A special type of medical supply — wine, brandy and

64. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, pp. 109, 116.

65. Scott to Cooper, Oct. 3, 1859 [Enclosures: Johnston to Acting Adjutant General, HA, Aug. 18, 24, 1859], LR, AGO.

66. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., II, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 144; *ibid.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, p. 186.

67. *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., II, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 175.

other spirituous liquor — caused the Surgeon General particular concern. The loss of this article was so great and the arrival of the small remnant so irregular at the military stations, that the Surgeon General was in a quandary whether “those groceries should be continued as articles of supply to the hospitals at the distant posts.”⁶⁸

The cost of military transportation grew by leaps and bounds. To be sure, the size of the army — except during the Mexican War — remained small,⁶⁹ but the troops were scattered over a vast area. In 1855 the Quartermaster General wrote: “Our small army . . . covers more ground, and its operations are more extended than the armies of all continental Europe, west of Russia, including all the colonies of those nations, in addition to their European territories.”⁷⁰ On the eve of the Civil War more than 90% of the troops were engaged in frontier duty.⁷¹

Supplying the numerous small posts in the remote interior and on the Pacific coast — at that time considered in one of the most unproductive regions in the world⁷² — boosted transportation costs sky high. Prior to the acquisition of Texas, the annual cost of transporting the entire military establishment was less than \$120,000.⁷³ The Mexican War increased the cost to more than \$5,000,000; but during the succeeding dozen years, because of our new western Indian frontier, transportation expenditures averaged about \$2,000,000 a year, an increase of about 1,500%. The “Mormon War” or Utah Expedition again boosted transportation costs to about \$5,000,000 for each year of a two-year period.⁷⁴ The annual

68. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 136.

69. Prior to the Mexican War our regular army numbered 6,500 men, reaching a peak strength of more than 47,000 by 1848. Upon the restoration of peace it was again reduced to slightly more than 10,000. At the opening of the Civil War, it numbered only 16,000 men. *Sen. Docs.*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pp. 220a-220f; *Statutes at Large*, IX, 11, 13-14, 123-124, 184; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pp. 160, 184a, 184f, 184g; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, p. 5.

70. *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, p. 109; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., II, no. 1, pt. 2, pp. 21-22.

71. For the location of the various military units in 1860, see *ibid.*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, pp. 214-229.

72. *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, p. 110.

73. *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, pp. 8-9.

74. For the schedule of military transportation costs for 1848-1860, see Annual Reports, Quartermaster General's Office, 1848-1860 and *Statutes at Large*, IX-XII, inclusive (Army, transportation).

expenditure of the quartermaster's department during this period was greater than that of any other bureau in the army; the cost of transportation ranged between one-third and one-half of the Quartermaster's total allotment.⁷⁵ Generally, the annual cost of military transportation was as great as the pay of the entire regular army, and in critical years it was greater.⁷⁶

Freight rates to the remote frontier posts were exceedingly high. The cost of shipping pork and flour, two of the most important items of supply to military stations in Texas and New Mexico, in 1850, is quite illuminating. To the near interior posts in Texas, pork per barrel was \$8.00 and flour, \$5.30; but to Paso del Norte, San Elizario, and Doña Ana the freight on the same articles was \$48.00 and \$31.80 per 100 pounds respectively.⁷⁷ On the Pacific coast transportation was the greatest problem of the quartermaster's department and the most expensive branch of the service. The supply depot at Benicia was particularly embarrassed by the manner in which shipments were made from the Atlantic seaboard. Public stores, for example, destined for San Diego, an intermediate point, were shipped to San Francisco with instructions to tranship them to the former place. Such backward transportation usually added about 200% to the original freight bill.⁷⁸ Due to vagaries in transportation and other factors, some commodities on the Pacific coast cost 1,000% more than in the East.⁷⁹

Poor packing methods added greatly to transportation costs. To be sure, the Office of Commissary General of Subsistence issued minute, detailed instructions to officers. "The flour you will have put up in strong *double sacks*,...; the bacon should be packed in the tightest, strongest manner; the hams

75. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., II, no. 1, pt. 2, pp. 19-20; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., III, no. 5, p. 253; *ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., III, no. 11, pp. 155-156; *ibid.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 1, pt. 3, p. 794; *ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., II, no. 2, pp. 617-619.

76. For the comparative annual costs of military transportation and pay of the regular army for 1848-1860, see Annual Reports of Quartermaster General and Paymaster General for those years.

77. To Santa Fe and Las Vegas the freight for pork and flour per 100 pounds was \$32.00 and \$21.30, respectively; to Taos, Socorro, Abiquiú and Savoyette, it was \$41.00 and \$27.56. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 5.

78. *Ibid.*, 276.

79. *Ibid.*, 266.

should be put up in whiskey barrels at least four iron hoops and the bacon in similar barrels or tight boxes well ironed."⁸⁰ But such orders apparently proved ineffective. Inspectors General McCall and Swords and Quartermaster General Jesup made sound suggestions for packing bread, bacon, and other subsistence stores so as to reduce transportation costs, but their recommendations went unheeded.⁸¹

The maintenance of numerous small posts in the Indian country added materially to the cost of transportation and military officers and members of Congress frequently questioned the wisdom of such a policy. Captain (later General) John Pope of the Topographical Engineers, in a fifty-nine page "Military Memoir . . ." addressed to Secretary of War Floyd, pointed out the weaknesses in the system of frontier defense and proposed changes.⁸² The Senate questioned the War Department "whether the United States army might not be so posted within the line of settlements as to diminish . . . the cost of transportation . . ." and at the same time render adequate frontier defense.

Secretary of War Floyd's reply is enlightening: "There is but little doubt that the policy is to mass troops at convenient points on or near the frontier, where forage and subsistence are cheap, and readily procured; but the character of the service, the extent of our territory, the habits of the Indians, and the ever varying wants of our emigrant population make difficult to determine upon any fixed policy on this subject. Whenever the [War] Department may be able to adopt such a plan, the cost of transportation will be diminished; but the condition of the Indian country and the straggling settlements towards the Pacific render such a policy, at the present time impossible, with any regard for the protection of lives and property of our citizens."⁸³ The Secretary

80. Gibson to Taylor, Sept. 27, 1849, LB 28, p. 199; Gibson to Waggaman, Apr. 5, 1855, LB 29, p. 287, CGS.

81. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 26, pp. 22-23; *ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, p. 240; Jesup to S. W., Jan. 1, 1847, Jesup to Gibson, Jan. 2, 1847, "Jesup Correspondence," LC.

82. John Pope, "A Military Memoir of the Country between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean with some Account of Frontier Defenses," May 7, 1859, p. 37, LR, TEB.

83. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., VII, no. 23, p. 1.

of War's answer was irrefutable. Military boards appointed to study the problem also reported that excessive costs were inevitable by the very nature of our extended frontier, the system of numerous small posts, and the character of the transportation system.⁸⁴

The condition of the western rivers and western roads was another essential factor in an adequate and economical system of military transportation. Troops and supplies, as well as pioneers, depended upon the steamboats of the Mississippi River and its branches to reach their destination. Without the steamboat the West would have "remained a vast wilderness,"⁸⁵ declared one writer. Since the western streams and land routes were far from ideal, the Federal government in the nineteenth century inaugurated a western river and road-improvement program which it has virtually continued to the present day.

Prior to the Mexican War, the celebrated Robert E. Lee, then a captain in the Corps of Engineers, performed yeoman service on the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers⁸⁶ and Captain Henry Miller Shreve, Superintendent of Western River Improvements, employing "Uncle Sam's tooth pullers" — specially constructed and equipped government steamboats — tackled the "treacherous monster," the raft of the Red River of Louisiana.⁸⁷ Troops from Fort Jesup, Louisiana, improved the navigation of the Sabine and government snag boats labored on the Arkansas and on the Missouri. Between 1842 and 1845 Congress appropriated more than \$308,000 for the improvement of western rivers and officers of the Corps of Topographical Engineers removed more than 133,000 obstructions and dangers to navigation. The army, in improving the western streams, not only made safer and faster voyages possible, thereby cutting military and commercial

84. Lawson to Conrad, Feb. 24, 1852, book 2, p. 203, LS, SGO; Pope, "Military Memoir . . ." 3-4, LR, TEB.

85. Stella M. Drumm, "Robert E. Lee and the Improvement of the Mississippi River," *Missouri Historical Society, Collections*, VI (Feb., 1929), 161.

86. *Ibid.*, 161, 166-167.

87. It was not until 1838 that the great mass of entangled timber was penetrated, and a half century more before it was permanently obliterated. Norman Caldwell, "The Red River Raft," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX (Sept., 1941), 257-259; Walter Prichard, "Red River Raft," *Dictionary of American History*, IV, 432.

transportation costs, but also protected the frontier and encouraged settlement.⁸⁸

The acquisition of territory beyond the Rocky Mountains emphasized the need for the extension of the western river improvement program on a grander scale. From 1849 to 1853 Quartermaster General Jesup repeatedly recommended not only the construction of a good system of western roads but also the improvement of western rivers with all their navigable tributaries flowing through the Indian country. Such improvements Jesup considered to be "military works of greater importance in defense of the country against the Indian than the best system of fortifications that could be adopted." The frontier settlers heartily approved such a policy and pointed to the benefits that would accrue to commerce and to military transportation as well as to frontier defense.⁸⁹ Congress, recognizing the logic of such arguments, made the necessary appropriations, and within the next dozen years, army engineers surveyed the principal western streams. Among these, the Rio Grande, the Red River, and the Colorado of the West received the greatest attention.

Texas, with its long streams, but with numerous obstructions to steam navigation in some of the most populous and commercially important parts of the State, served as an invitation and a challenge to army engineers.⁹⁰ Military surveys extending from the Sabine to the Rio Grande and from the Gulf to the Red River, launched in the interest of commerce, more economical transportation, and frontier defense resulted in improvements.⁹¹

But of all the Texas streams, army officers, merchants, and planters considered the Rio Grande of the greatest importance. Its navigability by steamers for only 500 miles was believed entirely inadequate for commercial and military

88. *Sen. Docs.*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, p. 347; Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846* (Philadelphia, 1935), 136-137, 175.

89. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 124; *ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 222, 226; *ibid.*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., II, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 135.

90. Charles W. Ramsdell, "Internal Improvement Projects in Texas in the Fifties," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, IX (April, 1917), pt. 1, p. 99; *Houston Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register*, Aug. 3, 1848.

91. Abert to Johnston, June 10, 1850, Abert to Kaufman, July 23, 1850, LS, TEB; Whiting to Totten, March 2, 18, April 26, 30, 1853, Stevens to Totten, June 10, July 18, 1854, H. L. Smith to Totten, June 22, Aug. 15, 1853, Feb. 4, 1854, LR, EOC.

needs. Removal of obstructions, many felt assured, would not only facilitate the sending of supplies to the upper military posts and reduce transportation costs but also open the Rio Grande country to further settlement and keep the Indians in check.⁹²

To test the feasibility of steamboat navigation on this stream, a long list of army officers and engineers — Tilden, Whiting, Gilbert, Love, Bryan, Smith (W. F. and M. L.), and Michler — examined it for about 1,000 miles above its mouth. The findings showed that navigation on the river could be extended from about 600 to 800 miles from the Gulf.⁹³ Improvements on the Rio Grande were made after the Civil War, but as late as the nineteen-thirties the stream continued a menace to what men built and planted in its valley. Except for a short distance from the Gulf, it is not navigable. "Its quicksands have swallowed horses, wagons, cattle, sheep and men."⁹⁴

The Red River Raft, compared to a "great serpent," always crawling upstream and forcing the river into new lateral channels, impeding navigation and causing great losses to valuable lands, had been a concern of white men for more than a century. In the 1840's and 1850's settlers and merchants urged removal of this "destroying angel"; Congressmen and military officers were desirous of finding the sources of the stream in the interest of more adequate military transportation and frontier defense. Improved navigation on this stream, the champions maintained, would not only stimulate commerce and encourage settlement but would also prove of incalculable value in defending the frontier.⁹⁵

Early in July, 1848, Senator Henry Johnson of Louisiana

92. During this period troops at the Texas posts received supplies overland from long distances and at considerable expense. The garrison at Laredo, for example, was being supplied from Ringgold Barracks over a tedious route of 120 miles; the post at Eagle Pass was supplied from the same point, a distance of 224 miles; El Paso received its supplies from Port de la Vaca, 850 miles overland, at an annual cost of \$200,000. Johnston to Abert, April 27, 1850, Jan. 7, 1851, LR, TEB; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 3, 1849 (Hereafter cited as *Daily Picayune*).

93. Bender, *The March of Empire*, 76-77.

94. Harvey Fergusson, *Rio Grande* (New York, 1933), 3-4.

95. John Bakeless, *The Eyes of Discovery* (Philadelphia, 1950), 348-349; Washington (Ark.) *Telegraph*, Jan. 23, March 27, 1850, Feb. 27, 1851, Oct. 26, 1853, March 29, 1854; *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 13, 1859; *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 478; Jesup to Conrad, Dec. 20, 1851, LS, QGO.

introduced a bill for a survey of the Red River from its mouth to the head of navigation, and four years later Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the removal of the raft.⁹⁶ But progress was slow and inconclusive. For four years (1854-1858) C. A. Fuller, "agent and engineer for the Red River improvement," labored diligently but unsuccessfully.⁹⁷

Then a private venture with capital from Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana made elaborate plans for the raft to "disappear like frost before the sun." The coming of the Civil War, however, interfered with the execution of the ingenious scheme, and for almost a quarter of a century longer the obstinate raft continued to be a barrier to successful commercial and military transportation.⁹⁸

But in tracing the Red River to its source government officers accomplished more definite results. Despite futile attempts of Freeman, Pike, and Long, by the mid-nineteenth century interest in the stream was again revived. Correct knowledge of its upper waters and source, it was believed, would enable the government to establish a series of military posts upon that stream and to transport supplies upon it into the very heart of the Comanche country. Moreover, construction of a good military road from its headwaters to the Rio Grande would greatly strengthen the defense of that frontier.⁹⁹ Captain Randolph B. Marcy's memorable Red River Survey of 1852, traced the river to its source and supplied much significant information. Thus, after half a century of trial and error by others, Marcy and his band of intrepid explorers were the "first white men" to accomplish this feat.¹⁰⁰

96. By this time Congress already had appropriated more than one-half million dollars for the removal of the great raft of Louisiana. *Senate Bills and Resolutions*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., Bill 307; *Statutes at Large*, X, 57; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 2, p. 72.

97. Washington (Ark.) *Telegraph*, Nov. 22, 1854, Dec. 3, 1856; Fuller to Abert, Sept. 30, Oct. 4, 1854, Long to Abert, Oct. 3, 1855, Feb. 7, 19, May 17, July 24, 1856, Feb. 7, Nov. 2, 1857, Jan. 10, Oct. 10, 1858, April 11, 1859, LR, TEB.

98. By 1890 the federal government had appropriated \$902,000 for improving navigation on the Red River. *Daily Picayune*, March 17, July 10, 1860; Caldwell, "The Red River Raft," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX, 263-266.

99. *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 5, 1853; Abert to Marcy, Nov. 17, 1848, "United States Miscellaneous, California and New Mexico, 1846-1850," LC.

100. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., no. 54; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Aug. 27, 1852, April 5, 1853; Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*

The Colorado of the West, like the Red River, was considered a potential medium of military transportation as well as a link in the chain of frontier defense. White men, to be sure, had visited its upper valleys from the days of the *conquistadores*, but it was "the river of mystery" and the region through which it flowed remained as unknown as "if it were in the center of Africa."¹⁰¹ After the Mexican War this stream at once became important as a possible artery of transportation to the newly established military posts. Provisioning Fort Yuma by pack train from California, for example, proved extremely difficult and expensive. Government officers soon embarked on extensive surveys of the Great Colorado.¹⁰²

Lieutenant George H. Derby of the Topographical Engineers in the United States transport "Invincible," in the winter of 1850-1851, ascended the river about twenty-five miles and in a long boat paddled upstream sixty miles farther. The new river route was at once put into operation and within two years steamboat navigation on the Colorado was assured. Steamers "Uncle Sam," "General Jesup," and "Colorado" carried cargoes of freight between the mouth of the river and Fort Yuma.¹⁰³

To ascertain the practicability of water transportation above that military post, Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives of the Topographical Engineers, in the winter of 1857-1858, ascended the Colorado in the iron steamer "Explorer," — to Fort Yuma and then as far as the mouth, or head, of Black Canyon, just below the thirty-sixth parallel. The trip was a gruelling one and well-nigh ended in disaster. As the "Explorer" steamed up the river she was compelled to battle with

(New York, 1866), 119-157; McClellan to Mother, May 7, 1852, McClellan to John McClellan, May 14, 1852, McClellan to Sister Maria, Sept. 6, 1852, McClellan, *Letters*, III, IV, LC.

101. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (New York, 1848), 275-276; Edward S. Wallace, *The Great Reconnaissance: Soldiers, Artists, and Scientists on the Frontier, 1848-1861* (Boston, 1955), 163; *Hse. Misc. Docs.*, 41 Cong., 3 sess., no. 12, p. 11.

102. Lewis R. Freeman, *The Colorado River: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (New York, 1923), 142; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., I, no. 1, pt. 1, pp. 222-223; *ibid.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, p. 91.

103. *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., IX, no. 81, pp. 2-22; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., no. 114, pp. 23-24; H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), 490; Freeman Report, 146-147, AGO; "Medical History of Fort Yuma, 1850-1873," AGO.

sandbars, snags, shoals, shifting sands, earthquakes, and treacherous rapids. But Ives succeeded in his mission. The expedition definitely established the practicability of steamboat navigation on the upper Colorado and opened a new medium of transportation in the Southwest.¹⁰⁴ In the sixties the new artery saved thousands of dollars in the cost of freighting military stores and gave fresh impetus to the development of the resources of Arizona.¹⁰⁵

Paralleling the western river improvement program was the government policy of survey and construction of western roads. In the late forties and early fifties many trails¹⁰⁶ could be used to reach California and Oregon, but most of them were accompanied by grave hardships. Shorter, less hazardous, and less expensive routes had to be found. In the interest of military transportation, intimately associated with frontier defense, a long galaxy of army officers and engineers carried on a consistent program of reconnaissance and exploration across the greater part of the trans-Mississippi West. Cooke, Marcy, Beale, and Simpson are but a few of the official pathfinders who explored and mapped the least known portions of the Southwest and made known the practicable and impracticable routes across Texas, the territories of New Mexico and Utah, and California — no small boon to soldier, emigrant, and trader.

Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, who led the Mormon Battalion to California during the Mexican War, opened the well-known trail that bears his name — the first wagon road through the Southwest to California. The new trail became popular with emigrants almost immediately. Military units also used it. Practicable as a railroad route, it was one of the reasons for the Gadsden Purchase. Today the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific lines

104. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., no. 90, pp. 21, 36, 38-130; Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *The Romance of the Colorado River* (New York, 1902), 160-167; San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1858 (Hereafter cited as *Daily Alta California*).

105. *Hse. Misc. Docs.*, 41 Cong., 3 sess., no. 12, pp. 1, 2, 4, 12; Burton to Cooper, Aug. 11, 1860, LR, AGO.

106. Ralph P. Bieber, *Southern Trails to California in 1849* (Glendale, Calif., 1937), 28-62; Grant Foreman, "Early Trails Through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, III (June, 1925), 110-112; Octavius Thorndike Howe, *Argonauts of '49* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), 16, 37-45.

follow a portion of the trail from New Mexico to southern California.¹⁰⁷

In 1849 Captain Marcy opened a new trail from western Arkansas to Santa Fe. His outward march from Fort Smith along the south Canadian and through the Upper Cross Timbers to Santa Fe, as well as his return trip across northern Texas, is well known.¹⁰⁸ The northern (outbound) trail Marcy considered "as good as any in the known world"; Captain James H. Simpson, Marcy's chief reconnaissance officer, described it as one of the best he had ever seen. The southern route was also believed to be highly practicable and soon became popular with overland travelers. The Butterfield Stage Route — the first Overland Mail to the Pacific — followed Marcy's southern trail across Texas.¹⁰⁹

To find a shorter route to California as well as to select lands suitable for Indian reservations, Lieutenant Edward F. Beale of the United States Navy, newly appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California, led an expedition from Westport, Missouri, to Los Angeles in the spring of 1853. Bent's Fort, the Huerfano River, Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Cochatope [Cochetopa] Pass, and the Grand River constituted important land marks along the 1,850-mile trek. After a march of more than three months, Beale and his small band of a dozen men succeeded in opening a new route from the mouth of the Huerfano River to the Little Salt Lake.¹¹⁰

Four years later Beale led a second exploring expedition to the Far West. His survey, extending from Fort Defiance in present Arizona to eastern California, was a phase of the elaborate Pacific Wagon Road program for which Congress

107. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., no. 41, pp. 51-62; Philip St. George Cooke, William Henry C. Whiting and François Xavier Aubry, *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854* (Ralph P. Bieber, ed., in collaboration with Averam B. Bender, Glendale, 1938), 29, 67-237; *Daily Picayune*, May 25, 1847.

108. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., VIII, no. 45, pp. 23, 28, 30-48, 52-77.

109. *Ibid.*, 80-82; *Daily Missouri Republican*, March 31, 1853; *Fort Smith Herald*, May 16, June 13, July 11, 25, Sept. 5, Nov. 2, 1849, May 4, 11, Nov. 8, 15, 22, Dec. 6, 1850; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River: Report on the Exploration of the Headwaters of the Red River by Captain Randolph B. Marcy and Captain G. B. McClellan* (Grant Foreman, ed., Norman, Okla., 1937), p. vi.

110. Gwinn H. Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific from the Valley of the Mississippi to California: Journal of the Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1854), 9-111, 123-127; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., no. 174, p. 15.

appropriated more than one-half million dollars. Beale was superintendent of construction of the wagon road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River,¹¹¹ and camels were used as an experiment.¹¹² Travelling principally along the thirty-fifth parallel, Beale and his colorful cavalcade — a herd of 25 camels, Turk, Greek, and Armenian camel drivers, a drove of several hundred sheep, and a military escort — covered about 4,000 miles through a wilderness of forest, plain and desert, tested the value of camels as a medium of transportation, and marked a new route to the Pacific.¹¹³

To test the practicability of his route in the winter season, Beale, in the fall of the same year, conducted an elaborate nine-month expedition from western Arkansas to the Colorado River. His survey again proved the practicability of a wagon route along the thirty-fifth parallel and showed that the winter season was no obstacle. Although champions of the competitive Southern Overland Mail route spoke disparagingly of Beale's route, denouncing his line as "worse than a swindle — a humbug," nevertheless many spoke of it in very laudatory terms and emigrants used it daily.¹¹⁴ Beale's surveys, supplemented by road improvement between Fort Smith and Albuquerque and the construction of a road between Albuquerque and the Colorado River, laid the basis for a through road from the Arkansas frontier to California. Military transportation, as well as communication and travel, was materially benefitted.¹¹⁵

While Beale was exploring along the thirty-fifth parallel, Captain Simpson led reconnoitering expeditions north of Beale's line for the purpose of opening more direct and better roads to California and establishing military posts. In the fall of 1858 and spring of 1859 he succeeded in opening two new wagon roads across the Great Basin of Utah, from Camp

111. *Statutes at Large*, X, 689, XI, 162-163; Floyd to Beale, April 22, 1857, LS, SW.

112. Lewis Burt Lesley (ed.), *Uncle Sam's Camels: The Journal of May Humphreys Stacey* . . . (Cambridge, 1929); Harlan D. Fowler, *Camels to California* (Stanford, 1950); *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., no. 62, pp. 1-238; "Camels, 1848-1866," LR, QGO.

113. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., no. 124, pp. 2, 38, 44-87; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Jan. 19, 1858.

114. Beale to Floyd, July 16, Dec. 15, 1859 [Enclosure: Crump to Beale, n.d.], LR, SW; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Sept. 4, 1859; *Daily Alta California*, July 19, 1859.

115. *Daily Missouri Republican*, Nov. 9, 1858, Jan. 30, June 26, Aug. 31, 1859.

Floyd to Carson Valley, which shortened the distance from Camp Floyd to San Francisco by more than 250 miles. Simpson advertised his routes in the western newspapers and soon California emigrants and others with large herds of stock were using them. The Overland Mail and Pony Express used the northern route (Simpson's survey of his outward march from Camp Floyd to Short Cut Pass) along which the Placer-ville and St. Joseph Telegraph Company extended its wires.¹¹⁶

Construction of new roads and improvement of existing arteries of transportation and travel accompanied these surveys. But Congress delayed action until it became thoroughly convinced of the necessity of such a program. Between 1850 and 1856 the citizens of Missouri, Iowa, and California held giant mass meetings in behalf of western roads and through their legislatures, representatives, and senators periodically petitioned Congress for construction of military and post roads across the plains and deserts.¹¹⁷ When 70,000 Californians pleaded for a military road from some point in Missouri to Carson Valley in eastern California, Congress yielded. In 1856 and 1857 it appropriated more than one-half million dollars¹¹⁸ and in less than two years the Department of the Interior, through the newly established administrative agency — Pacific Wagon Roads Office¹¹⁹ — constructed three Pacific wagon roads. One road, leading from Fort Ridgely, Minnesota Territory, through Fort Kearny and South Pass, extended to Honey Lake on the eastern border of California; a second, supplementing Marcy's trail from Fort Smith to Santa Fe, ran from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River near

116. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., no. 40, pp. 3-39; *ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., no. 1, pt. 1, p. 106, no. 2, pt. 2, pp. 15, 221, no. 2, pt. 3, pp. 847-848; Simpson to Porter, Dec. 28, 1858 (Simpson's Report), LR, TEB; James H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa in Carson Valley, 1859* (Washington, 1876), 3, 7, 25-148, 217; Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, July 20, 1859.

117. *Sen. Journal*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 625; *Sen. Rpts.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., no. 240; *Hse. Journal*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., 210; *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pt. 1, p. 490; *Hse. Rpts.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., no. 2; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Feb. 8, 12, 1855, May 6, 1856; *California Statutes, 1855* (Sacramento, 1855), 308; John M. Bernhisel to Douglas, Jan. 29, Feb. 2, 1855, Stephen A. Douglas, *Papers*, University of Chicago Library.

118. *Hse. Rpts.*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., no. 355; *Statutes at Large*, XI, 27, 162-163.

119. Jackson, *Wagon Roads West*, 178; Albert H. Campbell to J. R. McCay, May 23, 1857, LS, SI, PWRO, ID.

the mouth of the Mohave River; the third road, running between the thirty-second and thirty-third parallels, connected El Paso and Fort Yuma.¹²⁰ Despite quarrels between superintendents of road construction and engineers, charges of favoritism, and mismanagement, the roads were completed and proved of incalculable value.¹²¹

The El Paso-Fort Yuma road was of particular importance. In addition to the benefits accruing to military transportation, the Butterfield Mail and emigration were made easier, settlement of areas leading to the road increased, and the national hold on California, Arizona, and New Mexico was strengthened. At the opening of the Civil War the road was one of the routes over which California troops moved to hold New Mexico in the Union.¹²²

During the same period the Federal government spent nearly a million dollars additional for construction and improvements of roads in other portions of the West.¹²³ Five new roads built by army engineers traversed the Territory of New Mexico. One from Taos to Santa Fe connected the upper posts of the Rio Grande Valley with the capital. Another, continuing from Santa Fe to Doña Ana, served as the most important artery of travel and communication north and south, connecting Santa Fe with the military posts along the Rio Grande and with those east and west of the river. A third road extended from Fort Union about 100 miles southwestward to Santa Fe. A road was also built from Cañada to Abiquiú, and another from Albuquerque to Tecalote. The Fort Union-Santa Fe road was perhaps the most important, for it was the principal entrance to the heart of the territory; it afforded communication between that post and the headquarters of the military department, and it served as a por-

120. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., no. 36, pp. 7-36, 75-76; Jackson, *Wagon Roads West*, 179-232, 241-256.

121. William M. F. Magraw to J. Thompson, March 25, 1858, copies of true bills and indictments against James B. Leach, May 16, 1859, LR, Thompson to John Kirk, June 17, 1858, and Campbell to Leach, March 12, 1861, LS, SI, PWRO, ID.

122. Jack L. Cross, "Federal Wagon Road Construction in New Mexico Territory, 1846-1860," p. 95, M. A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1949.

123. *Statutes at Large*, IX, 306, 439, X, 151, 168, 203, 303, 306, 603, 604, 641; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., II, 390; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., no. 1, pt. 2, pp. 43-44, 273, 468, 475-483; *ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., no. 79, p. 3; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Aug. 25, 1855.

tion of the great mail route between the eastern states and the largest settlement in the Territory. Besides serving the military and commercial needs, New Mexico's pre-Civil War military roads pointed the way for modern lines of communication in the future State.¹²⁴ Because of her peculiar land system, Texas did not share in the federal road-building program, although her roads in the 1850's were most primitive;¹²⁵ Utah received but slight aid from Congress for internal improvements and California, despite constant appeals for federal aid, was obliged to build her own roads.¹²⁶ In the Far Northwest, however, the government played a prominent part in the construction of highways.¹²⁷

On the eve of the Civil War practically every fort was on or near a well-constructed road. The new network, laid out by army engineers¹²⁸ and built in part by soldiers, generally had their termini in military installations. Although the "Indian fighting" army was generally not so fortunate as to conduct its campaigns along military road surveys in the trans-Mississippi country, nevertheless these improvements facilitated the movement of troops and supply trains to the western outposts and provided a continuous connection between the forts or Indian agencies and the population centers. Providing an adequate system of military and commercial transportation, prior to the Pacific railroads, was an integral part of the government's policy of frontier defense and paved the way for opening the new country.

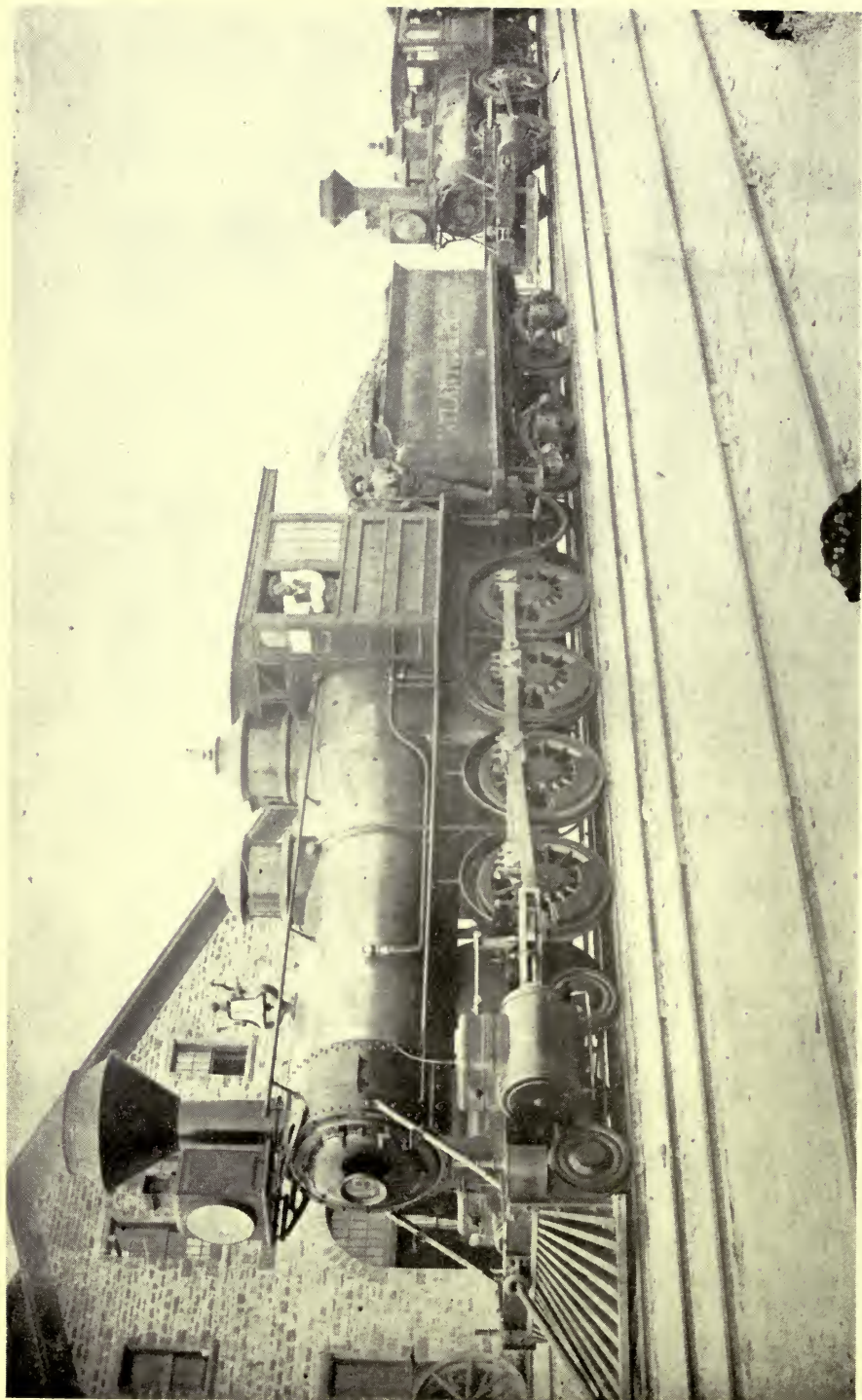
124. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., III, no. 1, pt. 3, pp. 1032, 1206-1209; *ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., II, no. 2, pt 2, p. 693; Macomb to Abert, Oct. 30, 1860, LR, TEB; Jackson, *Wagon Roads West*, 107-120; Cross, "Federal Wagon Road . . .," pp. 97-98.

125. Emmanuel Domenech, *Missionary Adventures in Texas and Mexico, 1846-1852* (London, 1858), 26; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas or a Saddle-trip on the Southwestern Frontier* (New York, 1857), 93, 239, 246.

126. *San Francisco Daily National*, Sept. 24, 1858; A. J. Bledsoe, *Indian Wars of the Northwest* (San Francisco, 1885), 218; California, *Assembly Journal, 1855* (Sacramento, 1855), 426-427; *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., no. 53, p. 1; Jackson, *Wagon Roads West*, 146, 157.

127. *Statutes at Large*, X, 151, 303, 603-604, XI, 168, 337, XII, 19; *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., VIII, no. 44; *ibid.*, no. 64, pp. 3-17; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., II, no. 1, pp. 124, 548; Jackson, *Wagon Roads West*, 257-318.

128. For the significance of the Engineers' Frontier, see Samuel Flagg Bemis, "Captain John Mullan and the Engineers' Frontier," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIV (July, 1923), 202.



ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC RAILROAD ENGINE

RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHWEST*

By WILLIAM S. GREEVER

THE FIRST railways through the Southwest were born of the American dream of a transcontinental railroad. As early as the 1830's some people envisioned such a link between the established East and the undeveloped West. About 1845 a Yankee tea merchant, Asa Whitney, returned from two years in China, filled with enthusiasm for the railroad project. He felt especially its importance in securing a larger share of the lucrative, expanding Oriental trade. His boundless enthusiasm aroused much interest among Congressmen, but his casual attitude toward practical engineering difficulties distressed them and his request for a federal land grant to aid in constructing the line divided them. They debated his specific proposal for seven years but never accepted it. During the 1850's the solons discussed many other plans for a transcontinental line. They were generally agreed there should be such a line and that the only major city which had yet arisen on the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, should be the terminal. They judged it inconceivable enough traffic would ever develop to justify more than one line, so they naturally were deeply concerned over its precise location. Some southern Congressmen thought it should stick close to the Gulf and the Mexican boundary, serving an area they felt was hospitable to large plantations and slavery. Some argued for a route from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, tapping what they believed was destined to become an area of small farms and free labor. Others advocated a central route, the most direct to San Francisco, serving also as a westward escape valve for eager but impoverished farmers. Within each of these three groups of Congressmen there was much division of opinion over the eastern terminal of the route they advocated. Hardly a city on the Mississippi or west of it was without ambitions; towns which now would not be considered likely candidates, such as Leavenworth, were then more on a basis

* This article is primarily concerned with railway development in Arizona and New Mexico.

of equality with today's metropolises and were major contenders. The squabble among the cities was dwarfed by the quarrel between those who advocated and those who abhorred the westward expansion of slavery. In the fiery controversy the southerners adamantly demanded that the transcontinental railroad must be wholly in the south; some northerners as firmly insisted on the northern line but others were willing to compromise on that anathema of slaveholders, the central route. So serious was the deadlock, and so firm the conviction that never more than one railroad would be built, that no authorization could be passed through Congress. However, the famous Gadsden Purchase, valuable as a railway route, was made. Not until the Civil War, with the South unable to protest what a Yankee Congress might do, were the Central Pacific and Union Pacific chartered to build between Council Bluffs and Sacramento.

The theoretical debates of the 1850's over location raised the question of which was more practicable. To answer it Congress authorized the so-called Pacific Railroad Surveys over five possible routes and learned, in 1856, that all were suitable from an engineer's viewpoint.¹ Along the 32nd parallel, there was a series of explorations. Through southern New Mexico and Arizona, Lt. Parke in 1854 made a hasty exploration of 27 days across 375 miles; the next year he retraced his steps more leisurely and confirmed his judgment that the route was practical. In Texas, Capt. John Pope surveyed a 639-mile line in 83 days. In California, Lt. R. S. Williamson spied out the lay of the land from Benicia to Ft. Yuma, especially examining Walker's, Cajon and San Geronio passes. He concluded, if the railroad was to serve San Diego, that San Geronio was the only practical route.

Along the 35th parallel, Lt. A. W. Whipple led a party from Ft. Smith, Arkansas to California. To Santa Fe he virtually retraced the steps of an 1849 gold seekers' party escorted by Capt. R. B. Marcy; west of the Rio Grande Whipple went over a region mostly never before explored. From the river at Isleta to Cajon Pass in California, he laid out a route

1. G. L. Albright, *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads* (Berkeley, 1921), 103-143.

now almost exactly followed by the Santa Fe Railroad. He discovered in northern New Mexico and Arizona suitable passes and west of the Colorado River encountered no obstacles to construction.

Another survey in New Mexico and Arizona was run more than a decade later by private enterprise. The Kansas Pacific contemplated, but never built, a line to southern California. It hired William J. Palmer in 1867 to lead an expedition over a possible route from Salina, Kansas, to the Pacific, examining west of Albuquerque both the 32nd and the 35th parallels. Palmer reported the southern route the less desirable. He thought it had less arable land and less timber than the northern. He pointed out that the easier grades in New Mexico and Arizona were more than offset by the very difficult mountains barring direct entrance into San Diego. He discounted the usefulness of a branch to Guaymas, old Mexico, because the harbor was too small to handle through traffic. Palmer recommended the 35th parallel as shorter, as more accessible from various parts of the nation and as holding greater potential prospects for originating traffic locally.²

Although Congress in 1862 had granted land and financial aid for building a transcontinental railroad along the central route, not until 1866 did it turn to the northern and southern routes. It then proffered land, but no money, to the Northern Pacific for a line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound and to the Atlantic and Pacific for one from Springfield, Missouri, west along the 35th parallel to the Pacific.

The origins of the Atlantic and Pacific lay in a company named the Southwestern Pacific, organized in Missouri in 1849 to build to the Pacific Ocean.³ It accomplished little de-

2. W. J. Palmer, *Report of Surveys Across the Continent in 1867-68 on the Thirty-Fifth and Thirty-Second Parallels for a Route Extending the Kansas Pacific to the Pacific Ocean at San Francisco and San Diego* (Philadelphia, 1869), *passim*; W. A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America* (London, 1870), *passim*.

3. The best authority on the history of the Atlantic and Pacific and Santa Fe railroads is L. L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1950). Previously James Marshall took Waters' research material and issued a popularized "pot-boiler" called *Santa Fe: The Railroad That Built an Empire* (New York, 1945). It contains some details Waters did not use in his own book and omits others, but it must be used with caution because Marshall wrote with a casual attitude toward accuracy. An older but still useful and dependable study is G. D. Bradley, *The Story of the Santa Fe* (Boston, 1920). There is also W. S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford, 1954).

spite a loan from the state of Missouri and a land grant; was foreclosed and sold to the famous general John C. Frémont. He renamed it the South Pacific and by 1870 had built from just outside St. Louis to Springfield. He also played a major role in launching the Atlantic and Pacific and in 1870 merged the two companies. He constructed southwestward through Missouri into Indian Territory. By 1872 the Atlantic and Pacific offered service from Pacific, just west of St. Louis, to Vinita, I. T., 361 miles; it had spent \$36,262,322.70 to build the line. It had surveyed further west, depending heavily on Palmer's earlier work, and in 1872 filed with Washington authorities its map of definite location for a line to the Pacific. Its representatives talked with San Franciscans but secured no definite commitment of support. In 1873 it fell into the financial hands of its enemies, the promoters of the Texas and Pacific, and three years later it was bankrupt.

The major difficulty with the Atlantic and Pacific was that investors refused to put money into so speculative an enterprise. In Indian Territory white settlement was forbidden and the possibility seemed very remote that the railway would ever secure title to its land grant there; in Texas there was no federal land; and further west there was a grant but little prospect of profit for years to come. In 1876 the railway was sold at foreclosure to a group of bondholders. They reorganized it as the St. Louis and San Francisco, popularly known as the Frisco, and eventually developed it into a substantial midwestern carrier. It retained the original Atlantic and Pacific charter, with its authorization to build west and its land grant, but the eagerness of the Frisco to complete the project was no substitute for money; matters drifted for awhile.

Meanwhile the Texas and Pacific had emerged as a substantial rival.⁴ Its origins were in the San Diego and Gila, Southern Pacific and Atlantic Railroad, organized in San Diego in 1854 to build eastward to Yuma. It surveyed through

4. L. B. Lesley, "A Southern Transcontinental Railroad into California: Texas and Pacific versus Southern Pacific, 1865-1885," *Pacific Historical Review*, V (1936), 52-60; N. C. Wilson and F. J. Taylor, *Southern Pacific: The Roaring Story of a Fighting Railroad* (New York, 1952), 63-79. At first the enterprise was called the Texas Pacific, but shortly the "and" was added.

Warner Pass and secured the promise of a 10,000-acre land subsidy, but accomplished nothing further. In 1869 it fell into the hands of the Memphis El Paso and Pacific Railroad, a paper road which went bankrupt the next year. Others too had the same general idea for a line; they persuaded Congress in 1871 to charter the Texas and Pacific to build from Marshall, on the eastern boundary of Texas, to San Diego. They secured the right to earn a land grant of 40 sections a mile in New Mexico and Arizona and 20 in California, on condition they complete the entire project within 10 years. They selected Thomas A. Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, as head of the T&P. He promptly absorbed the Memphis El Paso and Pacific and the San Diego and Gila, Southern Pacific and Atlantic Railroads. Despite the financial stringencies of the Panic of 1873, he completed 325 miles of line in Texas and east of San Diego graded 10 miles without laying rails.

But money proved so hard to raise that Scott, for the moment, united the enterprises, but not the corporations, of the Texas and Pacific and the Atlantic and Pacific. He would build the T&P through to San Diego; the A&P southwestward from Vinita, I. T., 400 miles to a junction with the T&P; and also lines from Vicksburg and New Orleans to Shreveport. He would use San Geronio Pass in California rather than try to go through the very rugged mountain range to the south. He asked Congress in 1875 to guarantee the interest on 5% bonds covering all this construction and argued elaborately that the government would be amply secured.⁵ Meeting with vigorous opposition, Scott fought for three years before conceding defeat. His enemy was the Central Pacific and its subsidiary the Southern Pacific. Led by C. P. Huntington, chief of the "Big Four" who had financed the two lines, a group of lobbyists in Washington tried to preserve the CP-SP railroad monopoly of California. Previously the Californians secured in the original T&P charter a proviso authorizing the Southern Pacific to connect with the interloper at the Colorado River. Now the Huntington forces demanded that Congress forbid the newcomer to enter Cali-

5. *Hse. Misc. Docs.*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., no. 36, part 1, 1-9.

fornia, especially to use San Geronio Pass which the Southern Pacific coveted for itself, and instead to authorize the SP to build eastward from Yuma until it met the Texas and Pacific. They played upon the mounting antipathy toward any further federal aid for railroads.

Huntington, in letters subsequently published, revealed the intensity of the struggle.⁶ He pointed out, "Scott is making a terrible effort, promising everything to everybody." He commented, "Scott is making a very dirty fight and I shall try very hard to pay him off, and if I do not live to see the grass grow over him I shall be very mistaken." Huntington employed a "good many men" as lobbyists. Congress he characterized as "the hungriest set of men that ever got together" and one California member as "a damned hog any way you can fix him." The financier grumbled that his agent Doctor Gwin had failed to get any of his candidates appointed on the Railway Committee. Huntington debated whether it was worth the expenditure of \$200,000 to get Congress to pass an SP bill rather than the proposed T&P measure. He considered spending \$25,000 to have Governor Safford of Arizona call a special legislative session to pass franchises favoring Huntington's roads. In later years he would never explain to Congressional investigating committees how he had used company remittances for "legal expenses" of \$75,000 and \$100,000 sent him in Washington during his fight with Scott. By whatever means, Huntington was victorious.

While the fight in Congress was at its worst, the Texas and Pacific attacked at the Colorado River.⁷ With its own rails still 1,200 miles east of Yuma, it sought to stall the Southern Pacific at the California boundary by seizing the one most favorable spot to build a bridge. First it secured a permit from local army authorities to build within the Ft. Yuma Military Reservation; then the SP got one; then the two got a conditional one from the Secretary of War who, a month later, revoked them both. The Southern Pacific, protesting it had already begun work, secured permission to build just enough more to prevent losing what it had already

6. *Congressional Record*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., 789-791; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 50 Cong., 1 sess., no. 51, 3683-3756.

7. *Hse. Misc. Docs.*, 45 Cong., 2 sess., no. 33, *passim*.

constructed. Instead it invited the army officers at Ft. Yuma to a prolonged drunken party; while they roistered, it finished its bridge completely. It was forbidden to use the structure by the Department of War, but in October 1877 President Hayes authorized resumption of train service over it. Again Huntington's railroad had won out. It was the last battle for Scott, for defeated here and in Congress, he sold his T&P stock to Jay Gould, a railway speculator more celebrated and feared than respected.

Huntington met his new adversary in New York City and they reached an understanding, though if either trusted the other in the slightest it would have indeed been surprising. They said they would extend their two lines until they met somewhere in Texas, forming a transcontinental route. Huntington's Southern Pacific started building east from Yuma in November 1878, with J. H. Strobridge, who previously had flung the Central Pacific across the Sierras, in charge. Just east of Maricopa he laid a railroad curve 5 miles in length, then the longest in the world, and followed it with 47 miles of absolutely straight track. When he pushed the line into Tucson on March 20, 1880, there was a great celebration with a flock of telegrams dispatched to various dignitaries including the Pope. Shortly back to the assembled group came the alleged reply, "Am glad railroad has reached Tucson, but where in hell is Tucson? The Pope." The actual building of the line through New Mexico and Arizona was done by the Pacific Improvement Company, which was owned by the four leading financiers of the Southern Pacific. These men as stockholders in the railroad required it to issue and turn over to the improvement company large quantities of stocks and bonds in payment for work done. Originally the trackage belonged to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company of New Mexico and the Southern Pacific Railroad Company of Arizona. In 1885 the property of these two organizations was leased to the Southern Pacific Company, chartered in Kentucky to do almost anything the mind of man could conceive, provided only that it was not done in Kentucky; in 1902 the two smaller corporations were merged into the larger one.⁸

8. Stuart Daggett, *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific* (New York,

Huntington and his group were not content simply to build eastward. They made a large investment in the Galveston Harrisburg and San Antonio, which connected with other railroads the Southern Pacific eventually secured, to make a route through to New Orleans. The Californians thought if they constructed their new acquisition westward, perhaps they could join it with the SP before Gould could get his own line there. Speed was important, especially to secure the pass at Sierra Blanca in west Texas, the only feasible one for miles around. The Southern Pacific reached El Paso on May 19, 1881, and continued energetically eastward. Soon it had clearly defeated the Texas and Pacific, which signed a new agreement on November 26, 1881.⁹ The two were to meet about 110 miles east of El Paso, but the T&P was leased running rights into the city. The SP promised to handle through traffic to San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco at as low a rate as that on any other transcontinental route. The two roads were to divide equally the western business originating at New Orleans, but two-thirds of that from Houston was to be hauled over the Huntington lines to El Paso. Gould's road promised never to build west of El Paso and Huntington's agreed never to build parallel to the T&P. Construction continued between El Paso and San Antonio until the two Huntington lines met on January 12, 1883.

When Huntington built from Yuma to El Paso, his Southern Pacific followed very closely the route the Texas and Pacific would have used to earn its federal land grant had it ever gotten that far west. In a New Mexican court in the early 1880's, the T&P demanded that the SP turn over to it the completed line which Congress had authorized it to build; it lost the suit. A related problem was that of the land grant itself, any claim to which the Gould line released to the Huntington road. When the Southern Pacific asked the federal government for title to the acreage, Congress refused because nothing in the original T&P charter authorized such a transfer and because the SP had built the line not because of Con-

1922), 119-139, 169-180, 199-221; "From Trail to Rail," *Southern Pacific Bulletin*, XVI (1928), 12-15 (Oct.)

9. *Congressional Record*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., 793.

gressional wishes but rather its own desires.¹⁰ Huntington, who had long boasted he did not need a land grant to build through New Mexico and Arizona, now fumed angrily because he could not get it. Instead, Congress in 1885 declared forfeit the grant of the T&P and a number of other railroads.

Already another railroad had become entrenched in New Mexico: the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe.¹¹ It had begun at Topeka and gradually worked westward. As early as 1872 it showed a definite interest in building through New Mexico to Santa Fe, running several surveys from easternmost Colorado or westernmost Kansas and negotiating for a right-of-way through the well-known Maxwell grant. The Panic of 1873 momentarily crushed its plans for this extension. When funds first became available again, it built into Colorado and reached Pueblo in February 1876. But New Mexico was not forgotten, for the next year the Santa Fe sent A. A. Robinson and W. R. Morley to make further surveys. Robinson, who during his career was to build over 5,000 miles of railroad, finally concluded as an engineer that the most feasible route was from Dodge City southwest to Wagon Mound, skirting much of the mountain region. But this was discarded because it would have missed a potentially important source of business, the Raton area coal fields. Indeed conservative Santa Fe President Thomas Nickerson doubted if there would be enough traffic to justify a New Mexico extension. He was overruled by more liberal elements within the company and in February 1878 the railway launched its project.

The first requirement was a New Mexico charter for an AT&SF subsidiary, the New Mexico and Southern Pacific Railroad, which the parent company would eventually lease in its customary manner of expansion. To secure the charter the railway sent Col. H. C. Nutt, Miguel Otero and its Vice President William B. Strong to the Territorial capital. There they learned that Southern Pacific lobbyists had persuaded the legislature to pass the so-called California Act. It provided a serious obstacle to any new railroad construction in

10. *House Reports*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., no. 1803, *passim*; *Congressional Record*, 48 Cong., 2 sess., 1877, 1888, 1894.

11. See note no. 3.

New Mexico because the company must have in cash 10% of the cost of the proposed line. However, Otero discovered the new act had not yet gone into effect. The three Santa Fe men hastened to organize a railroad under the general incorporating laws of the Territory. They then persuaded the legislature to exempt the line from taxes for six years.

An even more serious competitor than the Southern Pacific was the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.¹² This narrow gauge line intended to build eventually from Denver to Mexico City and planned more immediately to divert the traffic of the historic Santa Fe trail to Denver. It reached Pueblo in 1872, but found this wasn't far enough south to get the business it sought. Hampered by the Panic of 1873, it finally in April 1876 came to within five miles of Trinidad and stopped at El Moro. There the backers of the D&RG owned a town site they hoped would prosper greatly, but the citizens of Trinidad violently resented the railroad's failure to enter their city immediately. The president of the narrow gauge, the same William J. Palmer who had in 1867 directed the Kansas Pacific's westward survey, repeatedly stated his eventual aim of building through Raton Pass and had a survey run to Cimarron, New Mexico. However he had never discussed the matter with Dick Wootton, the owner of the toll road through the defile, or made any attempt to secure ownership of the right-of-way. Indeed what money could be raised between 1876 and 1878 he used instead to build through La Veta Pass to Alamosa, Colorado.

When the Santa Fe finally authorized construction on its New Mexico extension, Strong urged Robinson to start at once at the key point, Raton Pass. The engineer immediately took the next D&RG train from Pueblo to El Moro. Also on board was the Rio Grande's chief engineer, J. A. McMurtrie, who likewise held instructions to occupy the pass for his company. Probably this was because the telegraph lines of the two companies connected and each had broken the secret code of the other. When the train reached El Moro shortly

12. H. O. Brayer, "History of Colorado Railroads," in L. R. Hafen, editor, *Colorado and Its People* (New York, 1948), 635-690; V. A. Ferrell, "Short History of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Ry," *Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, no. 78 (1949), 86-95.

before midnight, McMurtrie went to find some much needed rest but Robinson pushed on through Trinidad and up the toll road to Dick Wootton's crude hotel. There he rounded up transients to form a work crew while W. R. Morley was hiring more workers in Trinidad, a town bitterly hostile to the D&RG. At 5:00 AM the Santa Fe graders started shovelling by lantern light on the north slope of the pass. Half an hour later the D&RG crew arrived to find their rivals in possession. There was room for only one road through the pass and unpleasant talk failed to move the Santa Fe men; the vanquished D&RG crew left. Although perhaps the narrow gauge company might have found an alternate route, not so satisfactory but still acceptable, it did not persist. Instead it turned to an area of new mineral development, Leadville, which at least for the moment held a far greater traffic potential than New Mexico. The mines also attracted the Santa Fe. Again there was a passage, the Royal Gorge, where there was room for only one line and the prolonged, violent struggle for it made the contest for Raton Pass seem mild indeed; this time the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad won.

On its main line through Raton Pass the Santa Fe decided to build a tunnel 200 feet under the summit. Unusually hard rock so delayed the project that the company threw a temporary line over the top with grades as steep as 6% and had to use it for almost a year. So difficult was the emergency route that the company had to secure for it a new locomotive which was twice as powerful as any the railroad then owned. Early in June 1879, the main line reached Las Vegas and continued westward at the accelerated pace of a mile and a half a day. Soon the question arose whether it would run through the town of Santa Fe. There is a story that the trouble arose because the local residents would not meet certain demands of the company, but this has been flatly denied by a company lawyer who wrote a history of New Mexico.¹³ Certainly the difficulties in building a line directly west from the town were great and would have involved quite an expense. Palmer in his 1867 survey had recommended putting

13. R. E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), II, 486.

the capital on a branch. So did Santa Fe railway engineer W. R. Morley, who was then charged so bitterly by the people of the town with being unfair and "opposed" to them that the company hired an independent surveyor to investigate the problem again. He confirmed what the other two had said and the railway stuck to its original plan. It would not even have built a branch to Santa Fe had not the city and county voted a bond issue of \$150,000 to aid construction of a stub from Lamy. It continued its main line directly westward toward Bernalillo. There it intended to establish a division point and erect considerable shops, but the local landowner kept raising his price until he was asking \$1,000 an acre. Disgusted, the company bought instead a site two miles from the old settlement of Albuquerque. Its line reached this tract in April 1880 and soon the area became the new center of Albuquerque's business district.

The Santa Fe as early as 1878 had begun plans for an extension beyond Albuquerque to the Pacific. It had Morley survey to Tucson and Florence in Arizona. He recommended the 32nd parallel route as better than the 35th because the hinterland was superior, with more mineral resources and no Grand Canyon to cut the area of customers to the north. Deeply impressed with traffic potentialities south of the border, he even dreamed imperialistically of "another Texas" on Mexican soil. Partly because of his reports, the AT&SF picked Guaymas, in old Mexico, to be its port on the Pacific. It organized, as usual, a subsidiary to build the line. This was the Sonora Railway, whose Mexican charter provided that the "enterprise shall always be Mexican, even when any or all of its members are foreign." It was promised a subsidy from the Mexican government of \$7,000 per kilometer; it got some of the money in 1880 and 1881 and after 1890, but never all of it.¹⁴ Originally the line was projected from Guaymas directly northeast to Douglas, Arizona, and Deming, New Mexico, but soon this was changed to a less difficult route northward to Hermosillo, Nogales, Arizona and Benson, then eastward to Deming. Construction began at Guaymas in 1880, with even such supplies as locomotives shipped around Cape

14. Stuart Daggett, *Railway Reorganization* (Cambridge, 1908), 208.

Horn, and by October 1882 the line reached Nogales. To connect with the Sonora Railway, the Santa Fe continued construction from Albuquerque south along the Rio Grande. Around Isleta the local Indians tore up at night almost as much track as was laid each day until Fr. Dourchee, a missionary, persuaded them to stop. After building south to Rincon, the AT&SF planned to swing its main line southwest to Deming, west to Benson, and southwest to Nogales. This alarmed the Southern Pacific, which already had a railroad from Deming to Benson and did not relish the idea of a competitor building a closely parallel line. It offered to grant running rights and the Santa Fe accepted, organizing the New Mexico and Arizona Railway to lease the line and to build promptly from Benson to Nogales. The two lines met at Deming on March 8, 1881, the site actually having been moved ten miles west of the location originally proposed because there was no water there. In 1881 the AT&SF also built an important branch line from Rincon to El Paso.¹⁵

The new line to Deming and the Pacific did not prosper. Santa Fe dreams of interchanging southern California traffic with the Southern Pacific at Deming ran counter to Huntington's intention of keeping a monopoly on all transcontinental business and making San Francisco the distribution center for both southern California and Arizona. He made such excessive rate demands that after one week of through service the Santa Fe announced it would accept no more California shipments. To break his strangle hold, it tried the experiment of buying a seven-eighths interest in the steamship "City of Topeka" and offering service from its rails at Guaymas to American ports on the Pacific Coast. Service was so slow and uncertain that it proved a financial failure. Indeed the whole Mexican extension turned out to be a mistake, for the mineral wealth remained untapped and the advantage of a port nearer to Australia than any in the United States remained theoretical.

15. The Santa Fe used subsidiaries, building from Albuquerque to San Marcial, New Mexico as the New Mexico and Southern Pacific; from San Marcial via Rincon to Deming and from Rincon to the state line as the Rio Grande Mexico and Pacific; and from the state line to El Paso as the Rio Grande and El Paso. Eventually the line from Albuquerque to El Paso earned the nickname among railroad people of "The Horny Toad."

Meanwhile the narrow gauge Denver and Rio Grande Railroad continued to expand.¹⁶ In 1880 it completed a line from Alamosa to Española, 35 miles from Santa Fe and as far south as certain agreements made with the AT&SF would allow it to go for the moment. A route to the capital city was built in 1886 by the Santa Fe and Northern Narrow Gauge Railroad; passed into the hands of the Santa Fe Southern, which dreamed of a line to the Pecos River; and in 1908 was acquired by the D&RG. The Rio Grande in 1882 built a line from Antonito to Durango, Colorado, so close to the New Mexican border that it twice slipped over for a few miles.

Another railroad which displayed renewed activity was the Atlantic and Pacific. When it was reorganized as the St. Louis and San Francisco, the so-called Frisco, the new company retained the old charter but lacked sufficient financial strength to complete the original project. In 1880 it became equal partners with the Santa Fe to build at once a line from the Pacific Ocean across northern New Mexico and Arizona on the 35th parallel to Isleta, just south of Albuquerque. Officially the trackage was to be known as the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Western Division. A Central Division was planned from Albuquerque to Vinita, Indian Territory, but was never built. Meanwhile, but not for over 30 years at the most, the Santa Fe would handle all Western Division traffic from Albuquerque to Wichita, Kansas; east of Wichita the Frisco would haul the St. Louis cars and the Santa Fe would carry the Chicago business. If at first the earnings of the completed line to the coast were not enough to pay the interest on the first mortgage bonds, the Frisco and the Santa Fe would each contribute toward the deficit as much as 25% of their gross earnings on their traffic interchanged with the A&P Western Division.

Work began with a careful series of surveys retracing what others had done before. The workers had no actual trouble with the Navaho Indians, but their presence caused enough apprehension that they were placated with considerable handouts of food. Another problem was water, at times in such short supply that the allotment for all purposes was

16. 344 ICC 60; Brayer, *loc. cit.*, 663.

a pint a day a man. An important result of the surveys was the decision to strike west from the Santa Fe main line at Isleta rather than Albuquerque because the engineering problems there were fewer. The route was approximately that prescribed in the map of definite location, filed with the federal government in 1872. The rail laid was mostly 52 lb. steel on the main line and iron on the sidings. One problem was where to put bridges, for while some streams were stabilized, others changed their course from time to time quite disconcertingly. Another difficulty was flash floods; only gradually did the railway learn that what was a dry creek bed today might tomorrow be a raging torrent. By February 1881 the line had reached Wingate, 150 miles from Albuquerque. Construction was generally by adjacent segments steadily moving westward, but there were two exceptions. At the very first the A&P rushed supplies and men by wagon 180 miles west of Albuquerque to hold Querino Canyon against any possible rival and to lay $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of track. Anticipating another difficult task, the company carted supplies in advance to Canyon Diablo. The bridge there was 56 feet long, stood 225 feet above the canyon bed, cost \$250,000, and took 15 months to finish; regular construction work did not reach the chasm until two months before completion of the structure. On August 3, 1883, the line was pushed through to Needles, California.

The A&P intended to continue building farther west, but for the moment could not. It interpreted its federal charter to authorize construction through to the Pacific Coast, touching at Ventura and then going northward to San Francisco. This view was sanctioned by the Department of the Interior when it accepted in 1872 the map of definite location and withdrew from entry by others the entire area of the company's land grant. But there was also a clause in the federal act authorizing the Southern Pacific Railroad, building from San Francisco, to connect with the A&P at or near the California border. To forestall the Atlantic and Pacific west of Needles, Huntington made common cause for the moment with slippery Jay Gould of the Texas and Pacific. They gradually accumulated stock of the Frisco until by 1882 they

dominated it and thus had equal control with the Santa Fe over the destinies of the A&P. They forced the AT&SF to yield, to accept the California boundary as the terminal of the Western Division and to agree to a through traffic arrangement with the Southern Pacific, which hastily flung down a branch from Mojave to Needles. They even compelled the A&P to pay all the cost of bridging the Colorado River when they successfully insisted the meeting point be Needles rather than Topock. The first structure there was not too strong and was swept away by a flood in 1884; everything was ferried over by flatboats until a permanent bridge could be built. Then through sleeping car service was established between Kansas City and San Francisco, but still coach passengers and all freight had to be transferred from the cars of one company to those of the other at Needles.

The Atlantic and Pacific was open, but it secured very little through or local business. The few California shippers who insisted upon specifying an A&P routing found that on the SP their shipments mysteriously bogged down in a series of allegedly inexplicable delays. In New Mexico and Arizona, development was just beginning and only gradually would any appreciable amount of traffic arise locally. For the situation to continue as it was, seemed to portend a loss of at least a million dollars annually for a number of years. To abandon the whole venture would also be very expensive and would kill a long-held objective of transcontinental service to California. The only other alternative was to build parallel to the Southern Pacific from Needles to Mojave. This the Santa Fe so clearly resolved to do that the Huntington forces saw no way to prevent it, short of surrendering the disputed line to the A&P. If they refused, they would be left with trackage valuable only as salvage.

Southern Pacific officials had little choice but to dispose of their Needles-Mojave line, 242 miles at \$30,000 a mile. Although the agreement was signed in August 1884, the SP would not complete the sale until it had paid off the mortgage bonds for the line in 1905; meanwhile the Atlantic and Pacific would lease the property for an annual rental of 6% of the purchase price. It promptly took possession. There was no

further change until 1897, the year the Santa Fe purchased the bankrupt Atlantic and Pacific. At that time the AT&SF and the SP arranged a trade. The Santa Fe abandoned its lease from Deming to Benson and surrendered the line from Benson to Guaymas. Its Mexican extension could most logically be operated as part of the Huntington system. The Southern Pacific in return cancelled the lease on its Needles-Mojave segment and transferred the ownership. Both lines were in deplorable repair and the mileage was about comparable, but the AT&SF paid the SP the slight difference in appraised value (\$156,750). Although the swap was completed in 1897, mortgage formalities prevented official exchange of title until 1911. Subsequent developments made the Needles-Mojave railroad a much more valuable property than the Mexican extension.

With the original 1884 agreement signaling the defeat of their monopolistic plans, Huntington and Gould sold their Frisco stock. The Southern Pacific agreed to handle A&P traffic through from Mojave to San Francisco, but in actual fact it so continued its obstructionist tactics that as late as 1889 the A&P had very little business with SP points. The Atlantic and Pacific had the right to solicit traffic in the Bay area, but only in return for a promise not to build any terminal facilities there.

To provide the necessary feeder lines for the Isleta-Mojave main track, the Santa Fe had to take action.¹⁷ Capitalists who controlled the AT&SF launched the California Southern Railroad from National City and San Diego through Fallbrook and Perris to San Bernardino. Aided by donations of 16,000 acres of land and two miles of San Diego waterfront, the line was completed in September 1883. Unfortunately it was not built high enough in Temecula Canyon to avoid very serious damage from floods the next spring and extensive repairs were necessary. As early as 1881 surveying and a little other work was done on the route from San Bernardino over Cajon Pass to Barstow on the Needles-Mojave main

17. R. V. Dodge and R. P. Middlebrook, "The California Southern Railroad," *Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, no. 80 (1950), 10-46; Franklyn Hoyt, "San Diego's First Railroad: The California Southern," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIII (1954), 133-146; Daggett, *Southern Pacific*, 317-346.

line. The task was not resumed until 1885 and the railroad was finished in November. By 1887 the line from San Bernardino through Pasadena to Los Angeles was completed.

With southern California connected to the Atlantic and Pacific, the Santa Fe turned to the northern part of the State. There the San Francisco Stockton and San Joaquin Valley Railroad had been begun in 1896 and completed in 1898 from Bakersfield to Stockton. It had been built as an independent to offset the extortionate monopolistic rate practices of the Southern Pacific. The Santa Fe purchased the SFS&SJV in 1898 and, to avoid parallel construction, secured running rights over the Southern Pacific from Mojave to Bakersfield. At first service from Stockton to San Francisco was by steamer, but in 1900 the AT&SF finished laying its rails into the Bay area.

The gradual accumulation of satisfactory California connections eased somewhat the financial problem of the Atlantic and Pacific. How serious these difficulties were is shown by the figures: from November 1, 1883, to June 30, 1897, it earned a gross income of \$7,564,764.76, but costs resulted in a net deficit of \$13,890,275.65.¹⁸ Economies were necessary; thus in 1886 the Santa Fe itself took charge of the A&P's operating department. The next spring the *Arizona Journal-Miner* at Prescott published criticism of the company's "almost criminal neglect" to make badly needed repairs on its roadway, to employ enough trackwalkers, to detect burning bridges and to repair engines damaged in accidents. It declared the railroad was using the few serviceable locomotives to concentrate on through traffic at the expense of very bad service to the local. Two months later the paper complimented the A&P on the great improvement made, with large crews at work and great piles of ties being laid. Now trains were on time and there were no accidents.¹⁹

The money problems of the A&P were one of many factors contributing to the fiscal difficulties of the Santa Fe itself.

18. 127 ICC 547.

19. *Arizona Journal-Miner*, May 5, May 9 and July 8, 1887. Occasional difficulties were inevitable. In October 1890, for example, a "train ran into a herd of cattle last Monday three miles west of Ash Fork and derailed the passenger train. Eight persons were more or less injured but none seriously." (*Arizona Champion*, November 1, 1890).

In 1889 the AT&SF went through a voluntary financial reorganization which raised its total indebtedness but lowered the fixed amount it must pay out each year. Overconfidently the next year it purchased the Frisco and the Colorado Midland Railroads. This expansion poorly prepared the company for the Panic of 1893. In December it went bankrupt and soon the Frisco, Colorado Midland and Atlantic and Pacific followed. When the plans for reorganization prompted careful investigation of the Santa Fe's affairs, it was discovered that in the most recent four years its earnings had been overstated by \$7,644,451.²⁰ Its money had not been stolen, but its management had scandalously misrepresented financial realities in a deliberate attempt to make things seem better than they were. When fiscal reorganization was completed in December 1895, the Santa Fe emerged from bankruptcy with its title changed from "railroad" to "railway" and with a new, honorable president, E. P. Ripley, in charge.

The revitalized AT&SF pondered what to do with its subsidiaries. It cast loose the Frisco and the Colorado Midland but retained the Atlantic and Pacific. It was determined to remain a transcontinental carrier, to profit by the A&P's excellent location, to benefit by the California Southern and to capitalize on the burgeoning commercial and industrial development in California. Its plans met opposition from a group of A&P bondholders, who charged the Santa Fe with responsibility for their company's bankruptcy and demanded separation of the two concerns. They had some justification, for "Santa Fe officials admitted that the western line was entitled to a more equitable division on through traffic receipts which would improve earnings."²¹ When the AT&SF emerged from bankruptcy, the A&P remained in fiscal difficulties and a new receiver, more pleasing to the aggrieved group, was appointed. Fiscal negotiations between the two companies continued, aided by a three-man board of arbitration. The final result was that in the summer of 1896 the A&P's income from through traffic was increased from \$15,000 monthly to \$20,000, and the Santa Fe paid half of the

20. Waters, *op. cit.*, 210.

21. *Ibid.*, 339.

\$36,000 monthly rent on the Mojave-Needles line. In May 1897 the AT&SF purchased from the bondholders the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Western Division.

Completion in the early 1880's of the Atlantic and Pacific to the north and the Southern Pacific to the south led to much talk of branch lines in New Mexico and Arizona. One of the first of these ventures was to tie the capital city of Prescott to the A&P at Ash Fork or Seligman.²² It began with Territorial Governor F. A. Trittle, who unsuccessfully urged his boyhood friend A&P President H. C. Nutt to build the branch. Disgusted, the governor in 1884 applied to the legislature for a charter for the Central Arizona Railroad to build from the A&P through Prescott to Phoenix. He roused the Southern Pacific, which did not fancy sharing the Phoenix traffic with anybody. The draft of the proposed charter for Trittle's road somehow disappeared. Its theft was charged to a legislator, but when tracked down he was in a hospital where the doctor declared he would die if disturbed. In actual fact he had the draft under his pillow. A substitute charter was drawn up and passed, but it contained a proviso that it must be ratified at a referendum by county taxpayers. By one device or another the voting was delayed for four years until the original company vanished.

In 1885 two groups of capitalists showed interest in a line from Seligman to Prescott. A Minnesota group organized the narrow gauge Arizona Central and a New York group headed by T. S. Bullock established a new standard gauge project with an old name, the Central Arizona. The former was to have a capital of \$3,300,000 and the latter \$1,875,000. Much bitterness arose as each made surveys which zigzagged over the other's proposed line. Each met strong opposition from ranchers using the federal grazing lands free, who feared the coming of the railroads would encourage interlopers and prospectors. Bullock's line won the support of the A&P and a promise of reduced rates for building supplies. The two companies decided union was better than rivalry and merged in July 1885 to form the Prescott and Arizona Central Railroad. Encouragement was offered in the form of a county

22. *Ibid.*, 348-351; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 262-266.

bond subsidy of \$291,000. Opposition continued from the stockmen who drove cattle across the grade, pulled up surveyor's stakes, burned ties, hijacked rails and fired volleys of shots around work camps. The P&AC was constructed with second hand rails, few ties, weak bridges, frequent curves and an absolute minimum of excavations and fills. When the first train ran the 73 miles from Prescott Jct. (Seligman) to Prescott on January 2, 1887, it was powered by a locomotive borrowed from the A&P because vandals had damaged extensively the P&AC's two engines. Opposition continued to the line and President Bullock because the service was so poor and the rates were so high that the charge of 10¢ a mile for passengers was typical.

Another railroad, rival for a time to the original Central Arizona project, was the Arizona Mineral Belt. By 1884 it had completed surveys from both Winslow and Flagstaff to Globe, but the latter was more often talked of as the northern terminal. By 1890, 35 miles out of Flagstaff were in operation, but only as a logging railroad; nothing further developed.²³

The need for a north-south line to link the two trans-continental railroads continued.²⁴ The governor of Arizona thought a federal or county subsidy should be granted for it. He argued that since through rates were so high that the Territory could export only minerals, such a local road would place the two big companies in competition. It would enable the north to exchange lumber, coal, minerals and livestock with the south for hay, barley and flour. It would eliminate such contrasts as hay bringing \$5 or \$6 a ton in the Salt River Valley, but \$20 to \$40 a ton only 100 miles to the north. So anxious was the legislature of Arizona for railroad development that in 1891 it granted tax exemption for 20 years to any such new enterprise. The company had to file notice of intent within six months of the passage of the law and actually begin construction within another six months. It had to build at least 50 miles a year, and no mere shift in the roadbed of a railway already operating would satisfy the law. The

23. *Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona* for 1884, 528; for 1890, 470.

24. *Ibid.* for 1889, 254; for 1890, 470; for 1891, 289.

new venture would not earn its tax exemption until the entire contemplated line was finished, had been accepted as satisfactory by county authorities and was maintaining operation of at least one train a day each way for passengers and freight.

Partly because of this law the Santa Fe Prescott and Phoenix Railway Company was incorporated in 1891. Its president was D. B. Robinson, general manager of the A&P, but the enterprise was particularly the brainchild of its secretary, Frank M. Murphy, a wealthy mining man. It began construction at Ash Fork in August 1892 and encountered its only delay at Iron Springs, where graders, who had uncovered some gold, prospected until convinced nothing further was to be found. The railroad entered Prescott on April 24, 1893; three months later it had driven the Prescott and Arizona Central out of business. The SFP&P intended to press south energetically, but the Panic of 1893 almost wrecked the company. It was saved only by wealthy Murphy's excellent local reputation and by the Prescott National Bank. To the south it encountered difficult terrain, which in some mountain areas ran the construction cost up as high as \$40,000 per mile. The line was so winding that the railroad quickly earned and still has the nickname of the "Pea Vine." It encountered some difficulty about a right-of-way into Phoenix, which it reached in March 1895, but solved the problem by having its men start laying track at midnight into the city.

The SFP&P contemplated further expansion. Its plans for a line to Florence, Tucson and Nogales were not realized nor was the dream of one to Utah. It did organize a subsidiary, the Prescott and Eastern, which built a 31-mile branch from 6 miles north of Prescott to the mining region at Mayer. The SFP&P was only a mild success financially, always earning its interest charges but never by a wide margin. It steadily increased the amount of traffic interchanged with the Santa Fe. Gradually the AT&SF became so financially interested in the feeder line that in 1901 it took over ownership.

An earlier but far less successful independent line was

the Arizona Narrow Gauge Railroad Company.²⁵ Incorporated in 1882, it planned to build from Tucson northeastward to Globe. Its subsidy from Pima County was authorized next year by the Territorial legislature. Upon demand the County was to exchange \$50,000 of its own bonds for an equal amount of railroad bonds; as each five mile section was actually built, there was to be a further \$50,000 swap. Almost immediately the first trade was made, by what kind of clandestine transaction probably will never be known. Certain it is that the stockholders never paid anything for the stock they owned and the County received nothing on the bonds issued by the railroad. Local enthusiasm ebbed sharply, then mounted again when the narrow gauge promoters returned to Tucson. They laid 5 miles of railroad and secured their second \$50,000 in bonds. Shortly Congress in 1886 passed a law forbidding any Territory or its political subdivision from granting credit or borrowing money to help any private enterprise. Either in ignorance or defiance, Pima County flouted the law. It surrendered a third \$50,000 worth of bonds when the railroad completed an additional 5 miles. Soon it became clear that 10 miles of line reaching no settlement but simply stopping at the Pima County boundary was worthless. Service was operated for a very short time, but in 1894 the engine was sold and sometime in the 1890's the rails were removed.

The line had disappeared but the promoter's primary interest, the county bonds, remained; much controversy arose over them. They were illegal and void, ruled the United States Supreme Court in 1894. This decision roused Frank M. Murphy of the SFP&P, who wanted to be sure Yavapai County's bonds for the Prescott and Arizona Central would be paid off. He secured through his brother N. O. Murphy, Territorial member of Congress, a law protecting "innocent bondholders" and maintaining that debts authorized by the Territorial legislature were valid. To this Pima County objected, but in 1899 and again in 1902 the United States Supreme Court upheld the federal law. The debentures were converted in 1903 into Territorial bonds, but the County was

25. H. A. Hubbard, "A Chapter in Early Arizona Transportation History: The Arizona Narrow Gauge Railroad Company," *University of Arizona Bulletin*, V (1984), no. 3.

still responsible for the indebtedness. It vainly sought to have the federal government assume the debt. It reluctantly levied a tax to pay the interest when in 1907 the United States Supreme Court so ordered. The County continued complaining and the debate became involved in the question of statehood. In 1910 Congress appropriated 3,000,000 acres each to New Mexico and Arizona to pay off Territorial debts, including such bonds as those for Pima and Yavapai counties. This has not yet been done, however, because ranchers have leased rather than purchased the grazing land and the resulting revenue has little more than paid the interest.

Another early Arizona project was a 35-mile track from Phoenix to the Southern Pacific main line at Maricopa. For this the Maricopa and Phoenix Railroad Company was organized by N. K. Masten and associates. Its franchise stated that the last day it could begin construction was October 31, 1886; to meet the requirement chief engineer H. R. Patriek began work that day with two horses, a garden plough and a small scraper. Soon he secured additional equipment and he completed the line on July 4, 1887. The Maricopa and Phoenix in 1894 created a subsidiary, the Phoenix Tempe and Mesa Railway, and the next year built from Tempe the 9 miles to Mesa. In 1903 the Southern Pacific secured ownership of these two corporations and shortly merged them into the SP system.²⁶

The Gila Valley Globe and Northern Railroad, incorporated in 1894 to take advantage of a tax exemption law, began construction at Bowie, Arizona, and by the middle of 1896 had reached the border of the San Carlos Indian Reservation at Geronimo. To cross the red men's territory it had to comply with President Cleveland's order that all of the Apache Indians must give approval; at a meeting with the chiefs in October 1896 there was no unanimous opinion. Subsequently President McKinley changed the requirement to majority consent. The railroad held a two day conference with the Indians in February 1898, distributing freely gifts of beef, flour, beans, lard, sugar, coffee and tobacco. When the question finally came to a vote, it was a two hour process

26. *Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona* for 1887, 754; for 1896, 249; "From Trail to Rail," *loc. cit.*, 12-13 (Nov.).

but only one Apache opposed the concession. The company paid the tribe \$8,000 for the right-of-way, a minor sum for property damages and promised to let all Indians ride free for 30 years. It resumed construction and in December 1898 reached Globe; two years later it pushed on to Miami. Business on the completed line was very small and was not remunerative enough to pay the indebtedness to the Southern Pacific for material and equipment. In 1904 the larger company absorbed the smaller one.²⁷

To the north, copper magnate William A. Clark built in 1894 the United Verde and Pacific from Cedar Springs on the SFP&P to his copper mines at Jerome. The Arizona and Utah Railroad was organized in 1899 and that year built from McConnico, on the Santa Fe main line near Kingman, to Chloride, 23 miles, to serve a gold and silver mining district. It laid a short extension to Whitehills in 1900, which was discontinued by 1906, but only talked of a line to Utah.²⁸

Another possible destination was the Grand Canyon, which began to attract visitors using stage coaches from Flagstaff.²⁹ To serve the tourists, and also the copper mine on the way at Anita, Lombard Goode and Company in 1897 organized the Santa Fe and Grand Canyon Railroad. It did not actually begin construction north from Williams until talk of a rival line from Kingman spurred it into action in May 1899. The SF&GC purchased old 56 lb. rail from the Santa Fe at \$41.66 a ton, payable with its bonds at par, and also secured rate concessions on construction material. It had built 43 miles to Anita Jct. by the time it went bankrupt in September 1900, and during the process of reorganization the remaining 20 miles were completed. In the new corporation, the Grand Canyon Railway Company, the Santa Fe held half the common stock and all the preferred. It was operated as an independent unit until 1924, when it was leased to the AT&SF. Shortly after completion of the line the Santa Fe invested over \$250,000 in tourist facilities and arranged for Fred Harvey to operate them. In its promotion

27. *Ibid.*, 13-14 (Nov.).

28. 127 ICC 354; *Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona* for 1894, 355; for 1899, 69-70.

29. Waters, *op. cit.*, 351-352; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 272-274, 420-421, 446.

of passenger business the railroad placed great emphasis upon the scenic wonders of the Grand Canyon, so convenient to the main line for a stop-over. Not so publicized but equally important to the company were the facts that it was the kind of spot no careless visitor could mar and that, remote from large centers of population, it insured a long passenger haul over Santa Fe rails. There was no competition until the Union Pacific began to develop a resort on the North Rim in the 1920's and long-distance automobile travel became popular.

The Arizona and New Mexico (an entirely separate venture from the Santa Fe's subsidiary the New Mexico and Arizona) was built mostly in 1883 by the Arizona Copper Company from Clifton 70 miles to tie in with the Southern Pacific at Lordsburg. In 1902 it was converted from narrow to standard gauge and was extended 40 miles to a connection at Hachita with the newly-built main line of the El Paso and Southwestern. When the Phelps Dodge interests took over the Arizona Copper Company in 1919, they turned the railroad over to their own EP&SW. Another mineral line was the Congress Gold Mine Railroad, built by local mine owners in 1896 over the 3 miles from Congress Jct. on the SFP&P to Congress.

Some railways much discussed in Arizona actually never graded a mile of track.³⁰ Such was the Arizona Northern Railroad, planned in 1881 to be an extension of the Colorado narrow gauge system. Another project was the Arizona and Nevada Railroad and Navigation Company, which would operate ships from the Gulf of Mexico to Yuma and a rail line on up the Colorado River to where the A&P crossed. The next year there was talk of a standard gauge line from Tucson to Port Lobos on the Gulf of Mexico, with reports of a promised Mexican government subsidy of \$9,000 a mile. In 1898 a company secured a charter to build from Kingman through "a rich mineral region" to the Grand Canyon.

New Mexico too had lines projected which were never constructed.³¹ The Texas Galveston and Santa Fe Railroad

30. *Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona* for 1881, 916; for 1883, 511; for 1898, 321.

31. *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for 1891, 349-350; for 1892, 367; for 1899, 336; for 1900, 166.

planned to run from Galveston to Santa Fe. The Mexican Northern Pacific Railway wanted to build directly south from Deming through a mining and lumber region 600 miles to Bacoyna and then turn southwestward 400 miles to Topolobampo, with branches to Chihuahua, 150 miles, and to Guaymas, 350 miles. The Denver and El Paso Independent Railroad, a Colorado corporation, had surveys made from Trinidad through Las Vegas and White Oaks to El Paso. With a route of 458 or 465 miles, it would pass through the coal beds of the Maxwell grant and the timber of Mora and Lincoln counties. An overlapping venture was the railroad projected from Trinidad 27 miles to Catskill in the Maxwell grant, with branches up and down the Red River totaling 12 miles. There was talk too of a narrow gauge from Santa Fe to Albuquerque. Another company made plans for a standard gauge line from Durango to Bernalillo or Albuquerque. Still another in 1899 had a survey run from Las Vegas to Taos, 100 miles. There was vague talk of an enterprise to run from Albany, Texas, through Las Vegas into the northwest and of another venture from Durango to Gallup. At the turn of the century, some thought there were "substantial reasons for believing" that the Denver and Rio Grande would build south from Durango to Farmington and then west to the coast, with branches to Albuquerque and Gallup. Another possibility was the 190-mile Black Range Railway, to go from Magdalena to Chloride, where a heavy mineral traffic was expected to develop, and on to Clifton. Also being talked of was the Cochiti and Northwestern Railroad, from Thornton to Jemez Hot Springs.

Though railroad construction was eagerly sought, only once did the New Mexico Territorial government itself extend aid. In 1893 it passed a law exempting any new line, or extension of an old one, from taxes until six years after it was completed; work must start not later than February 1896.³²

A few of the contemplated lines were actually constructed. The Denver Texas and Fort Worth, predecessor of the Colorado and Southern, built in 1888 from Trinidad through

32. *Ibid.* for 1893, 363.

northeast New Mexico to Texline. This 83-mile segment, passing through Des Moines, was part of a Denver to Ft. Worth line which eventually fell under the domination of the Burlington Route.³³ The Silver City and Northern Railroad, a subsidiary of the Southwestern Coal and Iron Company, in 1891 laid rails the 19 miles from Whitewater to the mines at Hanover; eventually this became a branch of the Santa Fe.³⁴ The Tierra Amarilla Southern Railroad was completed by 1899 from Chama to Brazos, 17 miles. Whether this subsidiary of the Burns and Briggs Lumber Company was a private road or a common carrier for all traffic is not clear.³⁵

A more important New Mexican venture was the Pecos Valley Railroad.³⁶ It was launched by J. J. Hagerman, who had held considerable stock in the Colorado Midland Railway until he sold out in 1890 to the Santa Fe. That same year he turned to the New Mexican line, part of an irrigation venture to develop the Pecos Valley. He built from Pecos on the Texas and Pacific main line to Carlsbad (then called Eddy); three years later he added an extension to Roswell. He planned branches from Roswell to El Paso and to Las Vegas, but never had the money for them. He could hardly scrape together enough funds for the line from Roswell to Amarillo, which he finally completed in 1898. Indeed he had to secure an advance of \$750,000 from the Santa Fe. In the midst of this project, in 1896, his line went into receivership and stayed there for two years before emerging as the Pecos Valley and Northwestern. This railroad the AT&SF secured in 1901 by acquiring 96% of the stock and two-thirds of the bonds for \$2,675,902; it then leased the property. The line was not built as well as Santa Fe standards prescribed, but having paid less than \$10,000 a mile for it, the new owner could well afford the considerable improvements promptly begun.

The Amarillo-Clovis segment of the Pecos Valley line became part of the vital Belen cutoff, a project envisaged from

33. R. C. Overton, *Gulf to Rockies: The Heritage of the Fort Worth and Denver—Colorado and Southern Railways, 1861-1898* (Austin, Texas, 1953), *passim*.

34. *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for 1891, 350.

35. *Ibid.* for 1899, 334.

36. Waters, *op. cit.*, 347-348; 127 ICC 603; *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for 1894, 410.

the early days of the Santa Fe to eliminate the rugged mountain climb in northeastern New Mexico.³⁷ At various times a number of surveys for the cutoff were run, mostly north of the location finally selected. Interest in the project languished, but then again increased with the upturn in transcontinental traffic. When the Pecos Valley line was purchased and competitors talked publicly of putting rival lines into the area, President Ripley resolved to launch the route using a low grade. In making further surveys most of the Santa Fe engineers concluded the extension should start westward from Portales, but the chief engineer successfully insisted it must be from Clovis. Grading began in 1902, but was held in abeyance for 1903-1904 because of business doldrums; track laying began in 1906 and the line was opened for through traffic in 1908. It sliced off "a quarter of a mile straight up," for its highest point was 1,110 feet lower than Raton tunnel, and its maximum grade of 66 feet per mile contrasted very favorably with 184.8 feet at Raton and 158.4 feet in the Glorieta Pass. It was so much more economical to operate than the old main line that ever since the great bulk of Santa Fe transcontinental freight traffic has used it.

In 1914 the AT&SF completed the last segment on its railroad from Galveston to just east of Clovis, forming an important through connection to the cutoff. It seriously considered, but never built, a major line from Raton to Clovis to provide New Mexican coal with direct access to the Gulf of Mexico. The Santa Fe built the following branch lines in New Mexico: in 1882 from Dillon to Blossburg, 3 miles, and from San Antonio to Carthage, 10 miles; in 1884 from Silver City to Deming, 47 miles; in 1885 from Socorro to Magdalena, 27 miles; in 1898 from San José to Santa Rita, 4 miles; and in 1899 from Hanover to Fierro, 7 miles.³⁸

The AT&SF had plans for a major undertaking in Arizona, a low-grade freight route that would avoid the two high summits between Albuquerque and Needles.³⁹ Using the existing Albuquerque-Deming line, it would then strike west

37. Waters, *op. cit.*, 353-355.

38. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 401-424.

39. Waters, *op. cit.*, 141-142, 357-358; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 267-268; "From Trail to Rail," *loc. cit.*, 12-13 (Nov.).

to Phoenix, a little to the north of the SP main track, and continue through Wickenburg to the Santa Fe's transcontinental rails at Cadiz. Going around the two sides of a triangle, it would be 200 miles longer but the reduction in grades promised operating economies. To construct it, the AT&SF created in 1901 a subsidiary called the Phoenix and Eastern. By September 1904 it pushed 96 miles east to Winkelman and expected to continue on to El Paso. It crashed into the forceful opposition of the new leader of the Southern Pacific, Edward Harriman, who started to defend his territory from invasion. He had the SP create in 1904 a subsidiary called the Arizona Eastern to build from near Yuma through Phoenix to Clifton, with branches to Jerome, Tucson and Globe. His crews ran surveys which forecast trouble with the Santa Fe in the courts and in the field. Evidence of it even appeared in the bills, presented by the contractor to the Harriman railroad, which contained as one of the enumerated expenses the item "Defending the Right of Way." The struggle reached a climax when Southern Pacific men, working a hundred feet higher in Gila Canyon, repeatedly blasted large quantities of stone onto the lower Santa Fe crew. Finally they were stormed by the men from below and there was a real battle. The contestants went to law, where one court ordered the Southern Pacific out of the canyon and then another allowed it to reenter when it promised not to interfere any further with the Santa Fe; the promise was not kept. According to the final compromise, the Santa Fe was to finish its line into Winkelman and the SP was to have the right to build from Deming to Dudleyville. In March 1907 the AT&SF surrendered its dream of the low-grade freight line by selling the Phoenix-Winkelman trackage to its enemy. Meanwhile it had already launched construction westward from Wickenburg in March 1904 by the action of its subsidiary the Arizona and California Railroad. The prospects for heavy ore shipments were in themselves sufficient justification for the line. The company encountered difficulties in securing laborers willing to work under the scorching sun, in bridging the Colorado River at Parker and in financing

during the Panic of 1907, but it completed the line through to Cadiz in 1910.

The Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific long dominated New Mexico and Arizona, but unexpectedly a rival arose: The El Paso and Southwestern.⁴⁰ It was a part of the copper mining ventures of the Phelps Dodge interests, operating as a formality under its own name but for all practical purposes identical with the Phelps Dodge group and expanding only as the needs of the copper industry dictated. Initially the mining firm entered the railroad business without intending to begin any widespread operations. It simply was trying to solve the problem of wagon transportation from the SP at Benson 65 miles to its mine at Bisbee. Attempting to persuade the Santa Fe to build through Bisbee at the time of the Guaymas extension, the firm's representative met "with supreme indifference" from the AT&SF president and subsequently learned how the railroad leased from the SP rather than undertake parallel construction. The Santa Fe did, however, build from Benson to Nogales through Fairbank, a point closer to Bisbee than any on the Southern Pacific. It received the regular patronage of Phelps Dodge, which tried wagons and a steam highway engine for the haul to the railhead without very satisfactory results. The miners then incorporated the Arizona and Southeastern to build the 30 miles from Bisbee to Fairbank and completed this line in 1899 at a cost of \$400,000, about twice the original estimate. It handled a larger volume of freight daily than could the wagon trains and cut expenses five-sixths. Several years later the Phelps Dodge interests got into a squabble with the Santa Fe over rates on lumber from the northwest. Aggrieved at the outcome, the miners extended their line to a direct connection with the Southern Pacific at Benson.

Another Phelps Dodge venture, at first quite independent from the Arizona and Southeastern, was the narrow gauge Morenci Southern Railroad. It ran 19 miles from the mines

40. R. G. Cleland, *A History of Phelps Dodge* (New York, 1952), 138-150, 213-214; Willson and Taylor, *op. cit.*, 81; *Railway Age*, LXXIV (1923), 823 and LXXVII (1924), 611; 70 ICC 795; 86 ICC 122; 90 ICC 732; *Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona* for 1900, 82.

at Morenci to the Arizona and New Mexico tracks at Guthrie. This was a difficult line to construct, with four complete loops and grades up to 4%. When veteran railroad financier Arthur Curtiss James inspected it, he wrote to his Phelps Dodge associates:

I do not wonder at all at its cost. It is by far the most difficult piece of railroad building I have ever seen. The Marshall Pass, the St. Gothard, and the Great Northern switchback, are all easy compared with it. It winds back and forth up the side of the mountain, through looped tunnels and over immense trestles, twisting and turning upon itself in a most wonderful but immensely costly way.⁴¹

About 1920 it was converted to standard gauge and the junction changed from Guthrie to Clifton.

A third Phelps Dodge railroad materialized when the company began to develop a mine in Sonora and erected a smelter north of the border at Douglas. To connect the two it built under Mexican charter the 77-mile Nacozari Railroad. It also extended the Arizona and Southeastern to Douglas; this provided a connection to the Southern Pacific at Benson but no longer to the Santa Fe, which had by this time traded off the line west of Deming.

The Benson interchange proved unsatisfactory as huge shipments from copper mines of other companies began to roll into the Phelps Dodge smelter. To improve the situation the Southern Pacific was urged to build a spur from Lordsburg, or some other point far east of Benson, to Douglas. The affairs of the SP at this moment were in such an upset state because of the recent death of Huntington that nothing could be undertaken. The Phelps Dodge group decided to solve its difficulties by building its own line from Douglas, not to Lordsburg but 215 miles to El Paso. It organized the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad, merging into it the Arizona and Southeastern and appending as a Mexican subsidiary the Nacozari. This activity convinced the Southern Pacific it had made a dangerous mistake, which it sought to correct by making a variety of proposals to the mining firm. All were

41. Cleland, *op. cit.*, 148.

considered, such as the suggestion of a joint trackage agreement, but none were accepted. With conciliation failing, the SP turned to warfare. It cancelled all joint tariffs for handling traffic at through rates with the Phelps Dodge railroads and imposed a high local rate of 14¢ a ton-mile for all material needed on the construction project. It met quick retaliation when the EP&SW enlarged its plans to include a branch from Hermanas to Deming, 32 miles away, the most convenient point for a connection with the Santa Fe. The SP tried to block the venture by preventing the EP&SW forces from laying tracks across its main line at Deming to the desired interchange with the Santa Fe. After carefully organizing his men, Phelps Dodge construction engineer Darbyshire suddenly rushed his rails over the crossing before the SP could mobilize enough men to prevent it. Immediately he hurried through the crossover 500 carloads of construction equipment and material.

Defeated at Deming, the Southern Pacific fought at El Paso to prevent the entry of the EP&SW. A court injunction was secured forbidding the Phelps Dodge road from utilizing the route it had planned into the city. The newcomers selected and used another one, less desirable than the first because it cost \$1,500,000 more to build. On June 20, 1903, the EP&SW was officially completed. Meanwhile the Southern Pacific had come under the control of the astute Edward Harriman, who was eager for peace with Phelps Dodge because it was one of the most valuable sources of freight in Arizona. The miners set the price of friendship at \$1,500,000, the extra expense at El Paso; the SP paid it and thereafter received a fair share of Phelps Dodge traffic. Quickly another difficulty developed for the miners' railroad — the grades carrying the main line directly into Bisbee proved too heavy for economical use. The trackage was relocated in 1903-1904, 38 miles of new line replacing 33 miles abandoned, so that it passed 8 miles south of Bisbee; a branch was built into the city. The EP&SW constructed other branches also: Fairbank to Tombstone, 9 miles, in 1903; Douglas to Courtland, 36 miles, in 1909; and Lewis Springs to Fort Huachuca, 13

miles, in 1913. Through a subsidiary named the Burro Mountain Railroad, it partly leased and partly built new a line from Deming to Tyrone, 48 miles, in 1914.

Another railroad project which had already been much discussed at El Paso was a connection northeastward toward Kansas City.⁴² As early as 1889 the Kansas City El Paso and Mexican Railroad was organized to build from El Paso through Texas and Indian Territory into Kansas; its plans were never realized. More promising was the Chicago Rock Island and Pacific. In 1888 it started from its Kansas City-Dallas line at Herington, Kansas, and built southwest through Hutchinson and Pratt to Liberal; its ultimate objective was somewhere nearer El Paso. The Rock Island took no further action until its stockholders in 1901 approved an increase in its capital stock for, among other things, an extension into New Mexico. To connect with it from the south was the El Paso and Northeastern. This railroad had completed in 1899 a line from El Paso northeast to Carrizozo, 144 miles, and then 21 miles directly east, over a switchback in the mountains, to the coal fields at Capitan. It was a subsidiary of the New Mexico Railway and Coal Company in which Charles B. Eddy was the leading figure. When the Rock Island began its extension, the EP&NE, creating as a subsidiary the El Paso and Rock Island, built from Carrizozo 128 miles to a junction with the Rock Island at Santa Rosa. The EP&NE had more difficult grades to contend with on its extension than did the Rock Island and, even more serious, had a very difficult time developing an adequate water supply. The two roads met at Santa Rosa in 1902.

The El Paso and Northeastern promptly constructed a branch from Tucumcari, 60 miles east of Santa Rosa, to the coal fields at Dawson. It talked of a line to Trinidad, but never built it. It secured control of the Alamogordo and Sacramento Mountains Railway, completed in 1899 from the large saw mill at Alamogordo to the timber region at Cloud-

42. W. E. Hayes, *Iron Road to Empire: The History of 100 Years of the Progress and Achievements of the Rock Island Lines* (New York, 1952), 119-120, 151, 159, 164, 171; Daggett, *Railway Reorganization*, 319, 327; *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for 1889, 456; for 1898, 650; for 1900, 166; for 1901, 149-150; for 1902, 143-144; for 1903, 361; for 1906, 91; *Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona* for 1900, 82; for 1901, 107-108.

croft with 26 miles of standard gauge main line, grades as steep as 5.2% and curves as sharp as 30 degrees. Out from Cloudfcroft there were 9 miles of narrow gauge branches up the canyons of the Sacramento Mountains. The Rock Island was also expanding; in 1903 it extended its Memphis-Amarillo line through to Tucumcari and provided through service from the Mississippi River to the EP&NE.

The El Paso and Northeastern was in such poor shape financially that shortly a sale was forced. It fell into the hands of Phelps Dodge, who owned the coal fields at Dawson and wished to control the carrier going toward its Douglas smelter. It promptly changed the junction point with the Rock Island from Santa Rosa east to Tucumcari, where the Dawson branch diverged. It merged the EP&NE into the El Paso and Southwestern. Much of the new acquisition had to be rebuilt because, as financier James wrote in 1905, "When we took over the management, the ties were hanging over the banks and the rails were all out of shape."⁴³

In 1911-1912 Phelps Dodge built a western extension 65 miles from Fairbank to Tucson. Starting with a 30-mile spur, the needs of its copper business and the attitude at times of other carriers had forced it to create an international railroad system, in 1911 containing 1,217 miles of total route. The final expansion of the EP&SW came when Phelps Dodge in 1921 purchased the Arizona Copper Company and its subsidiary, the Arizona and New Mexico Railroad. Though the chief traffic of the consolidated railroad was the products of mines, it hauled a variety of commodities. In 1923, for example, 15% of its tonnage came from products of agriculture; chief among these were California fruits and vegetables carried through from the Southern Pacific connection at Tucson to the junction with the Rock Island at Tucumcari.

A California extension of the El Paso and Southwestern in 1923 was a distinct possibility. Certain individuals closely connected with Phelps Dodge bought land in Phoenix and Los Angeles which would make excellent terminal facilities. Their activities alarmed the Southern Pacific, which began considering the merits of buying the EP&SW. By its line to

43. Cleland, *op. cit.*, 149.

Tucumcari the smaller company furnished much faster service from southern California to Kansas and Illinois than did any other SP connection. Between El Paso and Tucson, there were attractive possibilities of securing a better balance of traffic. The SP had an excess of 90,362,000 gross-ton miles eastbound and the EP&SW an overage of 70,335,000 westbound, making a total of 160,697,000; if the two were merged, this would be reduced to 20,027,000 and the annual savings in train operating costs would be \$662,000. General economies in operation and administration would amount to \$1,487,860 a year more. If the SP remained separate, it would soon have to double-track its line east of Tucson to carry the traffic; if it merged, instead of double-tracking it could use the EP&SW as a second main line. This would save maintenance and amortization of building costs totaling annually \$1,954,100. In all, consolidation would save \$3,439,950, the Southern Pacific figured.

It arranged the merger; it secured the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, for there was little, if any, opposition, and on October 31, 1924, assumed control of the property. For the El Paso and Southwestern system, including the Nacozari Railroad, the Southern Pacific paid Phelps Dodge nearly \$64,000,000 in stock, bonds and cash.⁴⁴ In 1926 the SP placed Phoenix on the main stem, rather than at the end of a stub from Maricopa; partly by construction and partly by using existing trackage it created a loop from Picacho, 46 miles northwest of Tucson, to Welton, 37 miles east of Yuma. The new route, when combined with the former EP&SW, gave the Southern Pacific a second main line from El Paso to within 37 miles of Yuma, except for 46 miles of joint, single track northwest of Tucson.

A New Mexico railroad venture on a much smaller scale ran from Santa Fe, crossed the Belen cutoff at Willard and

44. One of the leaders in Phelps Dodge, Arthur Curtiss James, also held much stock in the Western Pacific. When in the late 1920's it announced plans to throw a long branch down California's San Joaquin Valley and another northward to connect with the Great Northern for a through line into Portland, there were some who thought James was again using the scare technique, so effective with the EP&SW, to force the Southern Pacific to buy its competitor. If so, the plan failed. The Western Pacific actually did build the northern extension, but not the southern.

made connections with the EP&SW at Torrance, 116 miles.⁴⁵ There were dreams of a connecting link from Moriarity to Albuquerque, but only 8 miles of the 45 were ever built, as well as extensions to El Paso, to Roswell and to the mines at San Pedro. The venture was incorporated in 1900 as the Santa Fe Central, with a subsidiary called the Albuquerque Eastern. It was actually built by a construction company and opened for business in 1903. No great volume of local traffic developed and the line never handled much through business except some Colorado-El Paso cars during the federal control of the First World War. Financial difficulties were long continued. A fiscal reorganization in 1908 put the track under the control of a new company, the New Mexico Central Railroad, which went bankrupt in 1910 and finally left the hands of the receiver in 1918 with its corporate title changed from "railroad" to "railway." None of these three companies ever paid any dividends or interest on their bonded indebtedness. Most years there were deficits: for example, \$77,779.11 in 1924 and \$78,856.89 in 1925.

In 1926 the Santa Fe purchased the New Mexico Central. It believed the ownership by such a large company would produce some economies. It thought to increase traffic by such devices as sending 8 or 10 carloads of coal daily over the line to its Pecos Division at a savings of 90 miles over the previous routing. Two years later the AT&SF was ready to chop off some of its purchase. It discarded the 22-mile line direct from Santa Fe to Kennedy, as it could send cars via Lamy, 27 miles. It cut the route from Willard to a connection with the Southern Pacific 36 miles away at Torrance for three reasons: the average annual tonnage over the segment from 1922 through 1926 was only 9,477 tons; the local timber traffic had never developed as anticipated; and the track was in very poor condition. In approving these abandonments, the Interstate Commerce Commission made a gesture toward maintaining competition by authorizing the Southern Pacific to make some kind of arrangement for through service over

45. 106 ICC 435; 111 ICC 468; 145 ICC 241; *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for 1904, 449; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 436-438.

the entire Torrance-Santa Fe line, but the SP was not interested.

The St. Louis Rocky Mountain and Pacific was incorporated in 1905.⁴⁶ In the next two years it built 105 miles of line, the main one from Des Moines to Ute Park and the branches from Clifton House to Raton and Koehler Jct. to Koehler. Reportedly this railroad caused a "remarkable development" in the coal fields of Colfax County. The company's stock was all bought in 1915 by the AT&SF, which two years later leased the line and absorbed operations into its main system. In the same general area another independent railroad arose, the Santa Fe Raton and Eastern.⁴⁷ To service coal mines and an ice-producing lake, it built in 1905 about 9 miles of track from Raton to Carisbrooke, Yankee and Sugarite. It talked of an extension to Woodward, Oklahoma, but never accomplished it. The financier of the line was E. D. Shephard and Co. of New York City, who owned one of the coal mines served. Eventually all of Shephard's New Mexico operations went bankrupt and were purchased in 1924 by a coal mining subsidiary of the Santa Fe. The SFR&E was then turned over to the parent company.

The AT&SF was also expanding in Arizona.⁴⁸ It built in 1902-1904, through a subsidiary named the Bradshaw Mountain Railway, from Mayer to Crown King, 29 miles. The last 13 miles, Middleton to Crown King, was speculative as the mining area had once been quite active; indeed one mine between 1870 and 1896 paid \$600,000 in dividends, but at the time of construction only the dumps were being worked. The line crossed deep canyons on 19 wooden trestles, climbed grades as steep as 3.5% and wound around on 9 switchbacks, on which the maximum train was one engine and five cars. The expected mineral revival never came and probably the 13 miles had been a mistake from the start. It was abandoned in 1926. The Santa Fe in 1905 purchased the bankrupt Arizona and Utah Railroad, running from McConnico to Chlo-

46. 127 ICC 104, 340; *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico for 1907*, 593; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 432-435.

47. 86 ICC 409; 108 ICC 221; *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico for 1907*, 594; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 436-437.

48. 105 ICC 605; 108 ICC 712; 127 ICC 350, 354.

ride. Another AT&SF venture was a 38-mile branch from Cedar Glen on the "Pea Vine" to Clarkdale. Built in 1911-1913 under the charter of the Verde Valley Railway, the line cost \$1,329,983.24 to construct. \$1,300,000 of this was advanced by the United Verde Copper Company and was repaid, with interest at 4%, on the basis of a certain amount for each ton of freight hauled over the line. At this time the copper company abandoned its own United Verde and Pacific. In partial replacement it built the Verde Tunnel and Smelter Railroad over 4% grades from the Santa Fe branch at Clarkdale 11 miles to Jerome. The VT&S was abandoned in 1953, but the AT&SF spur is still operated.

The Santa Fe secured authority from the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1927 to build its branch from Beardsley, Arizona, to Litchfield; in 1938 for a 6-mile line from Ennis; and in 1939 for a 10-mile spur from Loving, New Mexico. The first two served maturing farm areas and the other a potash deposit.⁴⁹ Four New Mexico branches which the AT&SF contemplated, but never built, were a 13-mile stub to the mines at Cowles, a spur from Engel to mines at Chloride, a line to Farmington and a track from Lubbock, Texas, to Roswell.

A more ambitious Santa Fe project was the so-called Colmor cutoff.⁵⁰ Its origins lay in engineer Robinson's report of 1877 that the most feasible route for the then proposed main track was from Dodge City southwest to Wagon Mound, skirting much of the mountain area. Instead of following this recommendation, the AT&SF used Raton Pass. Much later it began to build along the alternate line, in 1913 from Dodge City to Elkhart, Kansas, and in 1925 from Elkhart to Felt, Oklahoma. In 1930 it received Interstate Commerce Commission approval to complete the project from Felt to the old main line at Colmor, New Mexico, northeast 60 miles from Las Vegas and 15 from Wagon Mound. This would form a new main line from Dodge City to Colmor, 228 miles long with a maximum grade of 1%, as compared with the old one

49. 124 ICC 569; 224 ICC 433; 236 ICC 319.

50. 162 ICC 477; 175 ICC 464; *Railway Age*, CXXX (1942), 383, 453, 855; Waters, *op. cit.*, 375. The WPB had plans for seizing other lines also for their rails, but actually did little.

over Raton, 357 miles long with a maximum grade of 3.5% westbound and 3.3% eastbound. It would form a more direct AT&SF route for Raton coal to Kansas, Oklahoma and northern Texas, especially as it would intersect the Santa Fe's new line building from Las Animas, Colorado, to Amarillo, Texas. It also would open up to adequate transportation a local area which the AT&SF optimistically told the ICC was quite suitable for agriculture. Construction began at the start of the depression, which perhaps was the deciding factor in leasing 17 miles of the Colorado and Southern main line between Clayton and Mt. Dora rather than building parallel. In 1931 the tracks reached Farley, 225 miles from Dodge City and there they stopped. Rumors were that there was sharp disagreement among top management about the cutoff, but if so it was not made public. Skeptics elsewhere doubted the need for the line, as passengers liked the scenery at Raton and the grades for freight on the Belen cutoff were better than west of Colmor in the Glorieta Pass. At any rate, no more was built. In 1942 the Santa Fe applied to the ICC to abandon the trackage from Boise City to Felt and Farley, 96 miles, because there was such a wartime shortage of rails that they could be put to better use elsewhere on the company's system. To this local residents protested and an ICC hearing was to be held. Before the date set, the War Production Board intervened without warning and abruptly requisitioned the rails. To the astounded railroad and local communities the WPB calmly explained that the armed service needed the track more than they did. Much later it developed that part or all of the material was used on a military line from the Persian Gulf north toward Russia. After the war, the Santa Fe did not make any effort to rebuild the line or to revive the Colmor cutoff plan.

Another major southwestern railroad project was from the mines in Cochise County, Arizona, through the New Mexico coal field to Durango, Colorado.⁵¹ There was talk in 1901 of the Colorado and Gulf undertaking such a venture; more

51. *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico for 1901*, 151; for 1907, 91; "From Trail to Rail," *loc. cit.*, 13 (Nov.).

concrete, the next year the Southern Pacific incorporated a subsidiary named the Arizona and Colorado Company to execute the project. The A&C actually did build in 1902 from Cochise to Pearce, 16 miles, serving the Commonwealth mine there; in 1909 it constructed extensions from Pearce to Glee-son, 19 miles and also from Kelton 24 miles on the way to Naco. It completed by 1906 surveys for a line from Durango to Morenci, but did nothing further. Perhaps this was because of the Panic of 1907; perhaps because others shared the privately expressed view of Santa Fe President E. P. Ripley that it was "a rather foolish project."

Another Southern Pacific venture was a through direct route from Tucson 66 miles to Nogales. In 1910 it purchased trackage from Tucson to Sahuarita, which had been constructed in 1906 by the Twin Buttes Railroad Company, and built southward to Calabasas, connecting there with another of its branch lines which ran to Nogales. The SP, through its subsidiary the Arizona Eastern, also laid down tracks from Winkelman to Christmas, 7 miles, in 1909; Phoenix to Has-sayampa, 39 miles, in 1910; and Avondale to Litchfield, 5 miles, in 1920. A somewhat related project was the Yuma Valley Railroad, built in 1914-1915 by the United States Bureau of Reclamation to aid in the construction and maintenance of the Colorado River levee south of Yuma 20 miles to the Arizona-Mexico international boundary. As farmers began occupying the area and growing farm products, the Southern Pacific acquired running rights in 1935 over the line from Yuma to Somerton, 18 miles.

The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad in 1905 built a standard gauge line from Durango 50 miles to Farm-ington. The only connection was with the D&RGW narrow gauge trackage at Durango, but there was at the time talk of other companies entering the general area. None did and the branch was narrowed to slim gauge in 1923.

Gradually various small short line railroad companies appeared in the Southwest. In 1882 the Santa Fe had built a branch from San Antonio, New Mexico, 10 miles to Car-thage, but abandoned it in 1896. In 1904 the Carthage Fuel

Company ran its New Mexico Midland Railway between the same places; the line hauled coal almost exclusively.⁵² Also in 1904 the Imperial Copper Company built the Arizona Southern trackage from Red Rock 22 miles to Silverbell; here again the mine provided virtually all the traffic. In 1915 both the mine and the railroad were sold to Lee Goldschmidt.⁵³ The Burns and Briggs Lumber Company at least as early as 1909 completed its Denver and Southwestern from Lumberton to El Vado, New Mexico, 38 miles. The Ray Consolidated Copper Company in 1909-1910 constructed the Ray and Gila Valley Railroad in two separate segments, Ray Jct. to Ray, 7 miles and Hayden Jct. to Hayden, 3 miles.⁵⁴ In those same years the Arizona and Swansea was laid down from Bouse, Arizona, 21 miles to the copper mines at Swansea.⁵⁵ The Apache Railroad, Holbrook to McNary, 76 miles, was incorporated in 1917 by the lumber company it was to serve. Phelps Dodge built the Tucson Cornelia and Gila Bend Railroad in 1915-1916 from Gila Bend the 44 miles to their mine at Ajo. The miners did not include this property in the sale of their other railroad interests to the Southern Pacific and still have it today.⁵⁶ The Magma Arizona Railroad was owned by the copper mine it served. It was laid down from Magma to Superior, 28 miles, as a narrow gauge in 1915, but was converted in 1923 to standard gauge. From the Santa Fe Railway to Hagen, 13 miles, the Hagen Company in 1921 built a private branch to serve its coal mines. In 1924, although 77% of the traffic anticipated would be coal, it converted this line into a common carrier for general public use, named the Rio Grande Eastern Railroad.⁵⁷ The Cimarron and Northwestern Railroad was built in 1907 from Cimarron the 22 miles to Ponil Park. Its traffic was 90% timber. As the forest was cut away, there was nothing else to haul and 14 miles of the line was abandoned in 1924; the rest in 1930.

Another independent venture, whose history is quite complicated, was the line from Bernalillo northwest about 50

52. 83 ICC 443.

53. 106 ICC 330.

54. 108 ICC 35.

55. 221 ICC 467.

56. 199 ICC 600.

57. 94 ICC 324.

miles.⁵⁸ The Santa Fe Northwestern was built 26 miles to San Ysidro, for the purpose of hauling logs from the woods to the lumber mill at Bernalillo. It was owned first by the White Pine Lumber Company and later by its successor, the New Mexico Timber Company. There were plans to build further northwest to Cuba, 35 miles. The project was undertaken by the Cuba Extension Railroad, which leased rails and certain other materials from the Santa Fe Railway, and was pressed forward 24 miles. The Cuba Extension went bankrupt in 1927 and was sold to the Santa Fe Northern, which went bankrupt in 1928 and was sold to the Santa Fe San Juan and Northern, which also went bankrupt. The SFSJ&N was at first run only as a private line of the San Juan Coal and Coke Company, but after the receivership it served as a common carrier. The traffic was almost all coal, originating at La Ventana. Between 1929 and 1933 there were various washouts and how much the railroad was operated after that is not clear. In 1939 the receiver proposed to sell the property again, but then the Santa Fe stepped in, repossessed the rails and ended the line's existence. All during these developments the Santa Fe Northwestern continued to operate and was even extended slightly. It handled coal from the SFSJ&N and originated lumber on its own line; it hauled little else. In May 1941 a big washout of three miles of SFNW tracks did \$90,000 worth of damages. The timber company experimented with hauling logs in trucks over the highway, found it cheaper and abandoned the Santa Fe Northwestern.

The Denver and Rio Grande in 1914 built a narrow gauge branch from Taos Jct. 16 miles to La Madera. The lumber company there advanced the cost of the line, except for rails and fastenings, and was gradually repaid from revenue earned by the branch. It closed its mill in 1927 and the line was abandoned in 1930.⁵⁹

Two major new railroads proposed to build in New Mexico and Arizona in 1923, but neither could convince the Interstate Commerce Commission it should authorize construction. One project of 1,240 miles was the Staley System of Electri-

58. 193 ICC 545; 249 ICC 842.

59. 175 ICC 151.

fied Railway.⁶⁰ The main stem was to run from the Gulf of California to the Colorado-Utah boundary, 66 miles in Mexico and 745 in the United States. Branches were to go to southern California; to Phoenix, Tucson, Benson and Winkelman in Arizona; and to Durango in Colorado. On the Gulf of California the company would create its own port, large enough to handle 15,000-ton vessels, and operate its own steamship line. The standard gauge railroad was to be powered by electricity, which the Staley group thought would bring much lower operating costs than did the ICC experts. The entire project was to be financed through the sale of stock, as the charter would forbid ever mortgaging the line to bondholders or bankers. The employees must be non-union, but would receive 10% higher than the union wage scale and also half the profits over 8%. This unique application to build was turned down by the ICC because the estimates of revenue to be earned were excessive when compared with the Los Angeles and Salt Lake (then quasi-independent but now part of the Union Pacific) or the EP&SW; the assumptions of population increase and industrial expansion were not warranted; and the visions of greatly increased coal production providing the backbone of the traffic were grossly optimistic.

The other proposal for a great new southwestern system was that of the Colorado Columbus and Mexico Railroad.⁶¹ The main line was to go from Farmington through Reserve, Tyrone, Deming and Columbus, New Mexico, to Durango, old Mexico. Various branches were eventually to reach Fruitland, Gallup, Springerville, Ft. Bayard, El Paso, Mazatlan and Guadalajara. The company, incorporated in 1905, had surveyed one-third of its route and made cost estimates before the First World War; these were not revised to meet the new conditions of the 1920's. It said it had available all the money necessary to build its lines, but declined to state details. The ICC was not impressed with the company's presentation of reasons why construction should be authorized. The commission thought that the estimates of coal and mineral traffic were excessive, especially as the coal had such

60. 82 ICC 820; *Railway Age*, LXXV (1923), 392.

61. 86 ICC 18; *Railway Age*, LXXV (1923), 555.

small commercial possibilities; that the visions of a heavy lumber traffic were quite speculative, as all the timber was in a national forest; and that in the mountainous area south of the Santa Fe main line very little local traffic was available. It pointed out that the outdated cost estimates would have to be increased at least 50%; that a survey showed in the San Juan basin 90% of the traffic would originate north of Farmington and flow to California; and that the southern part of New Mexico was already quite adequately served by railroads. The commission concluded that the CC&M had no particular value as a through route and denied its application.

A more attractive project was a line for Lea County, New Mexico.⁶² It was launched by the Texas and Pacific through its subsidiary, the Texas-New Mexico Railway, which still today operates in quasi-independence. The T-NM was built in 1928 from the T&P main line at Monahans 34 miles north into a new oil field in Winkler County, Texas. When the oil field grew into New Mexico, the T-NM asked to do so too. While petroleum was the chief attraction, it told the Interstate Commerce Commission, it expected considerable business from the vigorous livestock industry there and hoped for notable expansion in the area's truck gardening, dairying and farming. Its application for the new line encountered opposition from the Santa Fe. The AT&SF proposed itself to serve the Lea County area by an extension of its Lubbock-Seagraves branch. To secure the maximum railroad development that was economically reasonable, the ICC approved of all the T-NM proposal and part of the Santa Fe's. It authorized the Texas-New Mexico to extend into Lovington, making the line in all 113 miles long. It gave permission for the Santa Fe to build to Lovington, but would not allow further construction south. The T-NM promptly laid down its line; the AT&SF, perhaps because this was at the start of the 1930's depression, never constructed its extension.

The depression years saw no other proposals to build, but several to abandon lines no longer profitable.⁶³ Because the mines they had been built to serve were exhausted, the Ari-

62. 158 ICC 277.

63. 150 ICC 577; 193 ICC 8, 577, 603, 637, 745, 758; 199 ICC 177; 202 ICC 233, 396; 207 ICC 365; 236 ICC 301.

zona Southern, New Mexico Midland and Burro Mountain railroads were all abandoned. The Southern Pacific cut off 31 miles from Deming to Hermanas, which had mostly handled through traffic from the Burro Mountain trackage to Douglas; the 72 miles of the Douglas-Cochise line and its spurs; the 4 miles from Amster Jct. to Amster; the 38 miles from Hachita to Lordsburg; and the 5 miles of the Jarilla branch. The Santa Fe scrapped 4 miles south from Blue Bell; 13 miles from Nutt to Lake Valley; 3 miles from Carisbrooke to Yankee; and 4 miles from Swastika to Brilliant. It eliminated the stretch from Dillon 45 miles to Des Moines; although the mines could still be operated, the steady encroachment of oil and gas in the Texas panhandle had nearly eliminated the market for coal. The Arizona and Swansea had closed down when mining operations were suspended in 1930; when they resumed in 1937, it proved more economical to haul by truck and the railroad was discarded.

More than just mineral trackage was abandoned in the 1930's.⁶⁴ The Santa Fe eliminated five miles of its branch from Las Vegas to Hot Springs, as the resort Montezuma Hotel had closed in 1913 and the ice harvesting, begun in 1880, stopped in 1937 because of intense competition. It cut in 1939 the 5-mile segment from Kennedy to Stanley, as very little traffic originated locally, and in 1943 pruned back 13 miles further to Moriarty. The Southern Pacific cast off 17 miles from Maricopa toward Phoenix, as the local traffic was negligible and through cars for the capital city now went over the main line opened in 1926. On the Benson-Nogales line it clipped off 13 miles from Calabasas, which had always been subject to high water and in 1929 suffered \$30,000 in flood damages. Its other line easily handled the Benson-Tucson through traffic.

By 1941 a long steady decline in traffic finally forced the Denver and Rio Grande Western to abandon its 125 miles of narrow gauge from San Antonito to Santa Fe.⁶⁵ This branch had long borne the nickname of the "Chili line." Reportedly in the early days whenever the train of parlor car and coaches

64. 170 ICC 237; 202 ICC 701; 221 ICC 449; 233 ICC 147.

65. 344 ICC 60; *Railway Age*, CXI (1941), 350; *New Mexico: A Guide* (New York, 1947), 414.

made the stop for lunch at a station cafe, the large number of Mexican riders always ordered chili. One of the conductors when he was supposed to call "30 minutes for lunch," instead always announced "chili stop" and thus got the name started. By the 1930's there was only a daily mixed train for both passengers and freight. On it one day the engineer gave such a big sneeze that his false teeth flew out the window. Quickly he stopped and backed up, but the crew and passengers searched for a considerable time before finding the dentures. Less easy to solve were the other problems of the branch. Livestock traffic, once large in volume, had declined sharply, in part because of poor equipment and the company's inability to furnish sufficient cars when needed. What little timber remained adjacent to the tracks was now hauled by truck. High-value items, such as automobiles, were seldom carried because shippers feared the possibilities of damage when transfer was made from standard to narrow gauge cars. When the ICC approved the abandonment, Senator Johnson of Colorado tried to get a Congressional investigation; he failed.

During the Second World War the Santa Fe eliminated its 48 miles from Preston to Koehler and Ute Park. The SP pulled up its track from Carrizozo to Capitan, 22 miles, and in 1947 discarded the tracks from Alamogordo to Cloudcroft and Russia, 33 miles.

In 1954 the San Manuel Railroad was built by the mining company it serves from Winkelman the 20 miles to the new copper mine at San Manuel, Arizona.

From time to time over the years there was discussion about railroad rates. The Atlantic and Pacific reduced its passenger fare from 8¢ a mile to 6¢ in 1885 and the next year the Santa Fe cut its own from 6¢ to 4¢.⁶⁶ Freight rates too caused comment; on July 31, 1885, the *Prescott Weekly Courier* complained, "It begins to look as if the Atchison & A. P. railroad companies are taking lessons in cinching people from the Southern Pacific people."

The first important step locally in the regulation of rates

66. *Prescott Weekly Courier*, May 15, 1885; *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for 1886, 876.

came in 1909 when the Territory of Arizona created a railroad commission. It lacked power to enforce its rulings, but could argue with the railroads and, if needful, could complain to the Interstate Commerce Commission.⁶⁷ The first year it obtained reductions of 8%-32% on local freight from practically every carrier in the Territory. It secured cuts of 25%-30% on goods moving from El Paso into Arizona. The El Paso and Southwestern also promised to eliminate certain discriminatory rates, such as the one favoring El Paso fruit at Bisbee. The next year the Santa Fe lowered its local Arizona rates by 10% and slashed charges from San Francisco and Los Angeles to Arizona stations by 13%. With the coming of statehood, local regulation by means more effective than persuasion became possible.

Long distance rates came under the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It had to consider complicated situations, as when it approved the western railroads charging less per mile for citrus fruits than Florida or Texas lines in order that all fruit could sell at the same price in the Midwest and East. In 1909 it established for transcontinental rates a system of zones which is still in effect.⁶⁸ Rates were between broad zones rather than specific towns and placed competitors on the same footing over a large area. Thus they enabled all farmers in a large western growing region to pay the same charges in shipping to a sizable eastern market district. In the same way they made for equality among eastern manufacturers dealing with western purchasers. For east-bound commodity rates, generally speaking, about three-quarters of the State of California was in one zone; Arizona, Nevada, Utah (west of Ogden), New Mexico (west of Albuquerque and El Paso) and the rest of California were in the second.⁶⁹ But there have been exceptions; for example, fresh

67. *Annual Report of the Governor of Arizona* for 1909, 544; for 1910, 330; for 1911, 576. In 1911 the SP refused the commission's request to stop using Pacific Time for operations in Arizona when everybody else in the State used Mountain Time.

68. Stuart Daggett and J. P. Carter, *The Structure of Transcontinental Railroad Rates* (Berkeley, 1947), *passim*; Daggett, *Southern Pacific*, 275-292.

69. There are two types of transcontinental railroad rates, class and commodity. Class rates contain lists of almost every conceivable commodity, specifically describing it and assigning it a classification. For each classification there are rates, or a combination of them, to and from each station in the United States. Although it may take considerable looking, a correct class rate can always be worked out. Commodity rates are

fruits, lettuce and vegetables from California and Arizona for years took the same rate, but in 1936 the ICC changed the charge from the Phoenix district to 90% of that from California. Westbound commodity rates generally included in one zone California, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Nevada and most of New Mexico. Before 1909 this had not been so, for the charge from eastern points to some Pacific Coast cities was less than from those same eastern points to intermountain towns. This unfairness the ICC tried to stop through its 1909 system of zones, and by the time of the First World War, it succeeded in eliminating the inequities.

Railroad taxes occasionally caused controversy. The most prolonged was over the clause in the Atlantic and Pacific's 1866 federal charter exempting its right-of-way from taxes in the Territories. The precise meaning of the wording was not clear, so for many years the company compromised with the counties on the taxes it would pay. This irritated other taxpayers; *Hoof and Horn* characterized it as "blackmail" and wondered if a railway could negotiate its taxes why others couldn't too. The question of interpretation was carried to the United States Supreme Court. The justices ruled that the right-of-way to a width of 100 feet on either side of the track and the things on it (such as rails) were exempt, but rolling stock, tools, office equipment and other "personal property" were taxable.⁷⁰ So the matter remained until New Mexico and Arizona became states.

The only railroad to earn a land grant in the states of New Mexico and Arizona was the Atlantic and Pacific, which in 1897 transferred it to the Santa Fe.⁷¹ The 13,413,272 acres were suitable only for grazing, except in the very few areas that could be irrigated. Before the turn of the century the railroad found few purchasers. It turned in the early 1900's to trading its land within the boundaries of national forests

defined by Daggett and Carter, *op. cit.*, 24, as "specialized rates developed to cover movements of individual commodities or groups of commodities between particular stations or groups of stations." They are usually, but not always, lower than class rates. Today comparatively little western traffic moves on class rates, but mostly takes commodity rates.

70. *Hoof and Horn*, December 20, 1888; 172 US 171.

71. Greever, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

and Indian reservations to the national government, which issued so-called lieu rights good elsewhere on the public domain; these the company sold. It gradually persuaded local ranchers to lease its land, protecting them with an excellent system of tenure. The Santa Fe sold most of its grazing lands in the boom periods of the First and Second World Wars. Greatly to its credit, it refused to locate eager farmers in its arid area unless a dependable source of water was available and it never conducted a colonization campaign for its lands. Sales efforts began in 1880, but not till 1956 was the task accomplished and the land department closed.

As a labor force, the A&P and Santa Fe at first used only Irish on the tracks, but gradually turned also to Mexicans. In 1881 the Atlantic and Pacific was paying track-layers and graders \$2.25 a day, while spikers and iron men got \$2.50. The two roads started quite early to use Indians, especially Apaches, Navahos and Mojaves. They excelled as shovelers and at the start, when there was a wreck, as thieves. At first they refused to wear any clothes, which embarrassed some of the passengers. Eventually many of the red men were trained by the railroad to work in the Albuquerque shops. To care for their employees, the major southwestern railroads early provided company medical service. In 1884 the Santa Fe opened the first of its hospitals, at Las Vegas. Occasional labor disputes arose. For example, in 1893 shopmen became irritated when the Santa Fe failed to match wage increases given by other railroads. When negotiations dragged, the workers twice walked off their jobs for a total of 23 days but eventually won most of their demands. In 1922 a brief wildcat strike of train service employees on the AT&SF stalled 19 trains with 1,721 passengers between Albuquerque and Needles.⁷²

The passenger service offered by the main lines improved in quality over the years. The first major named train on the Santa Fe was the California Limited, established in 1892; it was supreme on the AT&SF until the coming of the Chief in 1926 and the Super-Chief in 1936. Other Santa Fe trains,

72. Waters, *op. cit.*, 294-296, 318-320, 327; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 168; *Railway Age*, LXXIII (1920), 345.

in service at various times, have been the Scout, the Missionary, the Navajo, the Hopi, the Santa Fe DeLuxe, the Grand Canyon, El Tovar and El Capitan. The AT&SF has always hauled the major mail train from the east to southern California. The Southern Pacific's most important Chicago-Los Angeles train has always been the Golden State, established in 1902 and supplemented from time to time by the Californian, the Apache and the Imperial. The major New Orleans service has been on the Sunset Limited, aided at first by the Sunset Express and in later years by the Argonaut. Speed has steadily increased on all routes; perhaps the greatest acceleration came with the introduction of streamlined trains in the later 1930's. The first schedule westbound from Albuquerque to Los Angeles, for example, was 35 hours; in 1904 the fastest train was 28½ hours; 1924, 28¼ hours; 1938, 17 hours, 20 minutes; and 1956, 16 hours, 5 minutes. Probably the most important contribution to the comfort of passengers was the advent of air-conditioned cars in the middle 1930's.

Santa Fe passenger service had a valuable ally in Fred Harvey.⁷³ At appropriate intervals trains stopped for 30 minutes while patrons ate at the Harvey House. With strict standards of quality, cleanliness and service, Harvey was a culinary missionary in a frontier wilderness of badly cooked food, sloppily served in unappetizing surroundings. In the early days his establishments were incomparably better than rivals in the area; gradually standards improved until at present others are his equal. At the maximum, there were Fred Harvey dining rooms at Kingman, Peach Springs, Holbrook, Belen, Roswell, San Marcial, Rincon, Deming and El Paso. There were both hotels and dining rooms at Needles, Ash Fork, Grand Canyon, Williams, Winslow, Gallup, Albuquerque, Lamy, Santa Fe, Las Vegas, Hot Springs, Raton, Trinidad, Vaughn and Clovis. During the train schedule acceleration of the 1930's, the Santa Fe turned increasingly

73. Waters, *op. cit.*, 174, 261-285; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 97-113, 163. Harvey did not take over the food service on the A&P until 1887. If historians ever examine the records of the company, it will be interesting to find out why Harvey stuck so closely to the railroad that the firm did not expand with the growing West to become today a giant of the hotel and restaurant business.

to the use of dining cars, Harvey operated. There was, however, a revival of the eating houses during the passenger rush of the Second World War; thereafter came a major curtailment of facilities. One of the most famous Harvey Hotels was the Montezuma, 6 miles north of Las Vegas at Hot Springs, opened in 1882 as "the Carlsbad of America." For years wealthy people and nobility flocked to the spa from all over the world. Gradually styles in resorts changed, patronage declined and in 1913 the hotel had to be closed.⁷⁴ In the early days the food service of the Southern Pacific was distinctly inferior to Fred Harvey's and even yet does not quite equal it.

At first highways offered no serious competition to the southwestern railways, but after the turn of the century improved roads and the rise of the gasoline engine began to cause changes. As early as 1907 there was an auto bus line from Torrance to Roswell.⁷⁵ At first the railways were disdainful of the competition, but by the 1930's they were so alarmed that they fought back with better service and some lower rates. The Southern Pacific secured a substantial proportion of the stock in the major bus line paralleling its rails, the Pacific Greyhound Lines, and the Santa Fe bought a share in the bus line following its rails, a company which eventually became a part of the Trailways system. The two railroads began operating trucks, both for intercity service and for local pick up and delivery. After the Second World War, the Santa Fe tried to start an air line, but federal government opposition prevented. In 1955 a Southern Pacific subsidiary built a \$34,000,000 petroleum pipe line, mostly on railroad right-of-way, from El Paso to Los Angeles.⁷⁶ In the mid-1950's the two railways started carrying truck trailers in "piggyback" service on freight trains.

The southwestern railroads faced their most severe test, so far, during the Second World War, when a tremendous volume of traffic descended on them. Pearl Harbor caught everyone by surprise, but for the Santa Fe and Southern

74. In 1920 the building was turned over to the Baptists, who established Montezuma College. It had an enrollment of 75 in 1937 and has since disappeared.

75. *Annual Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for 1907, 594.

76. *Railway Age*, CXXXVIII (1955), 8 (Feb. 28).

Pacific it meant immediately rushing soldiers to prevent any possibility of a Pacific Coast invasion. For several days the SP put a troop train west every half hour, so clogging its lines that once an eastbound passenger train, the Argonaut from Los Angeles, arrived in Tucson 12 hours late. As the war continued, pressure on the southwestern roads remained heavy because of the large number of western military establishments and the fighting in the Pacific; compared with normal peacetime business, the increased traffic load on them was considerably heavier than on railroads in the east. During the emergency the Santa Fe supplemented its fleet of steamers by placing in service the nation's first long-distance diesel freight locomotives. After the war, the most important change was the shift from the steam engine to the more economical diesel locomotive; by the mid-1950's the Santa Fe was completely dieselized and the Southern Pacific expected to become so by the later 1950's.

The railroads of the Southwest originated in the American demand for a transcontinental line and were speculative enterprises, built in advance of traffic. Gradually they became profitable, lowered their rates and improved their service. They spread out branches, spawned independent short lines and battled with rivals. Their facilities helped develop the area continually. In many counties they still are the largest business enterprise carried on within the county. The history of the railroads of New Mexico and Arizona is typical of the American Middlewest and West.

STAGECOACHING IN TERRITORIAL NEW MEXICO

By WILLIAM S. WALLACE

“THE MAIL and passengers came in Thursday morning from the east in a wagon. An axle of the coach broke on this side of Gregg’s and a wagon had to be substituted. There were five sacks of mail for this office. B. Seligman and family of Santa Fe were passengers.”¹

Such a notice as quoted above was common fare for the reader of Territorial New Mexico newspapers. When the stagecoach was early, late, or did not arrive at all the press was quick to note the fact; usually in a sarcastic vein. But, when operations were normal, little attention was paid to this major form of commercial transportation prior to the coming of the railroad to New Mexico. The Territorial citizen was prone to take the various stage lines for granted except when they inconvenienced his own movements or disrupted his mail service. Judging from the amount of space consumed in the Territorial newspapers it would seem that the matter of poor mail service was one of the major irritants in coping with life in New Mexico.

Tuesday evening’s coach brought in about as much mail as one man could wheel on a wheelbarrow from Santa Fe. The coach Wednesday morning brought no eastern mail at all. It thus seems as if the largest portion of the mail for this place must be taken through to Santa Fe and then returned the next day. Where is the mail agent? We suppose that all the mail for Las Vegas, Cimarron and even Trinidad and El Moro will soon come around by Fort Garland and Santa Fe.²

Despite the complaints and threats of the traveling public, stagecoach lines were numerous even if short-lived. In 1882, when the railroad had already entered considerable portions of New Mexico, there were still thirty-eight separate stage lines serving the various mining centers. The total mileage of these stage lines was approximately 800 as compared with a total of 1,114 miles of railroads within the Territory as of December 1, 1882. The longest regularly operated

1. *Las Vegas* (New Mexico) *Gazette*, October 28, 1877.

2. *Ibid.*



JEMEZ CANYON, NEW MEXICO

route was from Deming to Mogollon, a distance of ninety miles.³

Stagecoach lines in New Mexico operated through two distinct eras. The first was that of pre-railroad days.⁴ Until the railroads penetrated various parts of the Territory from 1879 on, the stagecoach lines represented the only means of regular commercial transportation. After 1879, the stagecoach lines became feeder operations used entirely to supplement rail transportation.⁵

3. Cf., William G. Ritch, *Illustrated New Mexico* (Santa Fe, 1883), VIII-XI. Ritch cited the following stage routes as being in operation in 1882: Aztec, Rio Arriba county, S. E. of Durango, Colorado, 42 miles by stage; Alma, Socorro county, in Mogollon district, N. M. from Silver City; Burro Mountains, Grant county, N. of Deming; Black Range, Socorro county, W. of Engle, 40 to 80 miles; Clairmont, Socorro county, in Mogollon district, N. W. from Silver City; Cooney, Socorro county in Mogollon district, N. W. from Silver City; Carisillo or Stonewall, Grant county, S. of Deming, 32 miles; Central City, Grant county, N. W. of Deming, 40 miles; Cimarroncito, Colfax county, N. W. of Springer; Canon del Agua, Santa Fe county, 18 miles from Cerrillos station on A. T. & S. F. railroad; Dolores (Old Placers, gold), Santa Fe county, S. of Cerrillos, 6 miles; Elizabethtown, Colfax county, 45 miles N. W. of Springer; Georgetown, Grant county, 50 miles N. W. of Deming, or 54 miles N. E. of Lordsburg; Gallinas, Lincoln county, 68 miles E. of Socorro; Golden, Santa Fe county, S. of Cerrillos, 12 miles; Hillsboro, Dona Ana county, N. of Nutt, 25 miles; Hanover, Grant county, N. W. of Deming, 48 miles; Jarilla, Dona Ana county, E. of Las Cruces, 42 miles; Kingston, Grant county, N. W. of Nutt, 35 miles via Lake Valley; Lone Pine, Santa Fe county, S. of Cerrillos, 15 miles, stage to Golden; Lake Valley, Dona Ana county, N. W. of Nutt, 12 miles; Lietendorf's, Grant county, S. of Lordsburg, 7 miles; Magdalena, Socorro, S. W. of Socorro, 25 miles; Mogollon, Socorro, N. W. of Deming, 90 miles, stage via Silver City; New Placers, Santa Fe county, S. of Cerrillos station, 15 miles, stage to Golden; Organs, Dona Ana county, E. of Las Cruces, 18 miles; Pueblo, Socorro county, W. of Socorro, 30 miles; Pinos Altos, Grant county, N. W. of Deming, stage via Silver City; Percha, Grant county, N. W. of Nutt, 35 miles; Santa Rita, Grant county, N. W. of Deming, stage via Silver City; Shakespeare, Grant county, S. of Lordsburg, 3 miles; Silver City, Grant county, N. W. of Deming, 46 miles; San Pedro, Santa Fe county, S. of Cerrillos, 16 miles; Telegraph, Grant county, on the Rio Gila, stage via Silver City; Ute Creek, Colfax county, N. W. of Springer, 40 miles, coach via Cimarron; Virginia, Grant county, S. of Lordsburg, 10 miles; Vera Cruz, Lincoln county, S. E. of Socorro, 80 miles, stage via White Oaks; White Oaks, Lincoln county, E. of Socorro, 80 miles.

4. Literature on this period is scant and often eludes the researcher interested in the history of stagecoaching. The standard work on the Butterfield operation is Roscoe Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869: Its organization and operation*. . . (Glendale, Calif., 1947), 3 vols. Other sources making references to stagecoaching in Territorial New Mexico are: John P. Clum, "Santa Fe in the 70's," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, II (Oct., 1927), 381-382, in which Clum describes his trip from Kit Carson, Colorado, to Santa Fe in 1871 via Trinidad and Raton Pass; Bess McKinnan, "The Toll Road over Raton Pass," *ibid.*, II (Jan., 1927), 83-89, includes some data on the use of Raton Pass by stage coaches; W. H. Ryus, *The Second William Penn: A True Account of the Incidents that happened along the Old Santa Fe Trail in the Sixties* (Kansas City, Mo., 1913), *passim*, is replete with references to stagecoaching during the first period of stagecoaching in Territorial New Mexico.

5. Stagecoaching during this second period is involved in varying degrees of thoroughness in: Theron M. Trumbo's, "The Little Bonanza," *New Mexico Magazine*,

The first era of stagecoach operations started in 1849 when a line was established between Independence, Missouri, and Santa Fe. This line operated on a monthly schedule. It was later expanded to a daily service. Fares were about \$250 one-way with a baggage limit of forty pounds and \$1 per pound for excess. Thirteen days and six hours was the scheduled time between Santa Fe and Kansas City.⁶

Because of the east-west orientation of transportation in the United States in so far as the nation as a whole is concerned, the major stagecoach lines provided relatively good service across New Mexico but, for commercial transportation north and south, service was left to the smaller independent carriers. The early Territorial newspapers contain frequent advertisements of these independent carriers, and they nearly all followed the same pattern of operation. Fares were quoted on a one-way basis.⁷ Terminals were located at hotels, and the route connected one or more communities with a railroad.

The following advertisement in the *Las Vegas Gazette* on April 6, 1881, is an example of what the small independent stage lines offered the public:

HACK LINE

Strausner's hack line running weekly to White Oaks. Passengers carried 165 miles for \$15. Leave orders at Sumner House, Las Vegas or Burk's Hotel, White Oaks. Will make the trip in three or four days according to weather.

It was to the advantage of merchants to have people use the stagecoach in order to get potential customers and settlers into the Territorial shopping centers. The local newspapers were dependent on the success of the local merchants and the growth of a town's surrounding area. The editor would occasionally feature an article including some mention of the local stagecoach line service while reporting about trips to

28 (April, 1950), 28, wherein a hack line operation is referred to as operating between Las Cruces and the Organ Mountains and William S. Wallace, "Short-Line Staging in New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXVI (April, 1951), 89-100.

6. Cf., Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, 1912), II, 139-142; LeRoy Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869* (Cleveland, 1926), 70-75, 97, 236; and Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas: A Cyclopaedia of State History . . . Etc.* (Chicago, 1912), II, 736.

7. An exception to this is the round-trip reduced fares in effect on the Lake Valley, Hillsboro and Kingston, New Mexico Stage line. See: Wallace, *op. cit.*, 97.

potentially prosperous regions within the Territory. The editor had to work diligently over his potential readership in order to stay in business. One of his methods of accomplishing this was to take trips himself to neighboring communities and to report in his paper on the beauty of the scenery, the sagacity of the merchants, and the beauty of the women in the smaller towns visited.

One such article prior to the coming of the railroad involved a stagecoach journey from Las Cruces to the Silver City area and return during the spring of 1871.⁸ Aside from the author's comments on mining, scenery, and the people encountered along the way, he manages to impart some slight observations on the trip itself. The driver, for instance, had a coaching horn and was mentioned as using it numerous times. A horseman accompanied the stagecoach as far as the crossing of the Rio Grande in order to cross before the stagecoach to "see if the ford is the same as yesterday." The author points out that if it "were not for this precaution our leaders⁹ might plunge out of sight in some deep hole, and go under — giving us (the only passenger) a right smart chance of a ducking in the bargain."

The driver of the stagecoach kept the horses in a "steady trot," and after stopping at a ranch, where a way station was maintained, for a meal, "the team comes from the stable very well cleaned, and looking as if they had fared as well as yourself." At the community of Rio Mimbres, the author had to transfer from the

J. F. Bennett & Co.'s S. O. M. and Ex. Line, and take passage with the W. H. Wiley & Co., who run a first-class branch line to Fort Bayard, Silver City and Pinos Altos. An easy-riding,

8. The article referred to was a four column narrative by either N. V. Bennett or A. C. Aabacock, editors of the paper in which the article appeared, the Las Cruces weekly *The Borderer*, March 16, 1871. Another newspaper account of travel over this territory in 1858 is Waterman L. Ormsby's series of articles published in the *New York Herald* between September 26 and November 19, 1858. This series has since been published: Waterman L. Ormsby. *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, ed. by Lyle H. Wright and Josephine M. Bynum (San Marino, California, 1955).

9. "Leaders" is a term applied to the leading two horses when four or more horses are used to pull a carriage, wagon, or stagecoach. The two horses nearest the driver are called "wheelers." For further information on teams and stagecoach harness see Wallace, *op. cit.*, 98-101. The art of driving coaches, once so well understood, is now almost lost. The only published bibliography on the subject is Count Gérard de Contades', *Le Driving en France (1547-1896)* [Paris?, 1898], 209 pp. Maj. Gen. Geoffrey White's, "Driving," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1936), VII, 665-667, is probably the best discussion of the subject.

open, spring wagon, giving one an opportunity to look about him in every direction; a good span of California horses; Wiley and Smith for companions, make the traveler, we can assure him, a very pleasant trip over this, the most beautiful part of the country.

One of the more colorful stagecoach lines operated during the second era of stagecoach operations in New Mexico was the Kingston Stage Line, operated by Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Orchard from 1888 to 1902. This line operated between Lake Valley and Kingston by way of Hillsboro, New Mexico.¹⁰ The line apparently owned two Concord stagecoaches and an express wagon. Changes of teams were required four times between Lake Valley, where connections were made with the railroad, and Kingston.¹¹ An average of sixty horses was needed to keep the line in operation.¹²

This line was to become particularly well-known because Mrs. Sadie Orchard frequently drove the stagecoaches herself. This was the same Sadie Orchard referred to in some of the writings of Eugene Manlove Rhodes.¹³

To insure profitable operations, most stage lines sought contracts for carrying the mail. The extent to which the Federal government aided Territorial stagecoach lines in this respect is problematical. Post Office Department files concerning star routes and other types of contracts covering private carriers of mail from 1870 through 1914 appear to have been destroyed by authority of Congress.¹⁴ That a great deal of planning went into the determination of some of the routes, however, is evident from a hitherto unpublished document concerning the surveying of a route from Las Vegas to Fort Elliott in 1885.¹⁵ During April and May of 1885, First Lieu-

10. Clay W. Vaden, "Sadie Orchard, One of New Mexico's Women Stage Drivers," unpublished MS. in New Mexico Writer's Project File, Library, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Betty Reich, "Stagecoach Days," unpublished MS. in New Mexico Writer's Project "City File," Library, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

13. Vaden, *op. cit.*

14. Letters from the Chief Inspector, Post Office Department, to W. S. Wallace, May 4, 1950, and F. R. Holdcamper (Industrial Records Branch, National Archives) to *idem*, May 9, 1950. A small amount of statistical information on a few stage routes in New Mexico in the early 1880's is found in the *Report of the Postmaster-General of the United States; Being Part of the Message and Documents communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the Second Session of the 47th Congress* (Washington, 1882), 65, 132-135.

15. This route is referred to in Lillie Gerhardt Anderson's "Indian Country Outpost," *New Mexico Magazine*, 34 (March, 1956), 53.

tenant E. H. Plummer, of the Tenth Infantry, under orders from the Post Adjutant at Fort Union, New Mexico, undertook to lay out and carefully measure with odometers the route.¹⁶

During a fifty-two day period, Lt. Plummer made a meticulous survey of the route to Fort Elliott by way of Fort Bascom, New Mexico, and Tascosa, Texas. The total mileage of the route was 317.81 miles. Fort Elliott was located near present day Mobeetie, in the Texas panhandle. In concluding the report, Lt. Plummer explained :

I also measured frequently over different kinds of road to test the accuracy of the odometers. I found that by driving careful [ly] I could obtain a more accurate measurement over rocky winding roads with the odometer than I could with the chain.

As the spring wagon and escort wagon loaded differently, the above method was practically the same as measuring the route twice, and by taking the mean of the two measurements which usually differed from each other by less than one hundred feet in twenty miles I am of the opinion that the measurements are as near correct as can be obtained by odometer measurement — or any other method.

The report of Lt. Plummer is but one of the numerous manifestations of the United States Army's interest in stage routes. Records of the various military posts of that era make mention of the military's reliance on commercial stage lines for communication between the various posts. The military's interest helped to provide added insurance for the profitable operation of some of the line's operations through military escorts for some stage runs.¹⁷ Apparently some stage lines took advantage of the army's assistance as is evidenced in the following communication :

Head Quarters, District of
New Mexico
Santa Fe, N. M. May 15th, 1868

Messr's. Cooke & Shaw

16. This document was made available through the kindness of Lt. Plummer's daughter, the late Miss Bessie Plummer of Pacific Grove, California. The document consists of six manuscript pages and appears to be in the handwriting of Lt. Plummer.

17. Ryus, *op. cit.*, 22-23, 99-103, 161; Ft. Union Medical History. Dec. 31, 1873 (Arrott roll No. 4); Ft. Bascom. Letters Sent. Dec. 19, 1868 (Arrott roll No. 8). These and subsequent references to "Arrott . . ." refer to the Arrott Collection of Western Americana, Rodgers Library, New Mexico Highlands University. The collection is based primarily on transcripts and microfilms from the National Archives.

Mail Contractors or Agent,
Santa Fe, N. M.
Gentlemen:

I am instructed by the Brevet Major General, Commanding, to furnish you the enclosed copy of a letter from Fort Craig, N. M. dated the 5th instant, with copy of General Hazen's endorsement thereon, and to inform you that the escort now furnished your coaches from Fort Craig, N. M. will be discontinued after the 1st proximo, unless you reserve seats in your coaches for this escort or provide the necessary transportation, furnishing both, animals, and wagons.

I am, Gentlemen, Very respectfully.

Your obedient servant

Edward Hunter

1st Lieutenant, 12th Infantry

A. A. A. General¹⁸

No less important an aspect of Territorial stagecoach operations than carrying the mail and passengers was that of carrying express. Typical of such express transactions is the accompanying photograph of a way-bill for a package of currency carried by the Barlow and Sanderson organization.¹⁹ Little is known concerning the freight rate structure during the Territorial period within New Mexico. One extant document dated at Pueblo, Colorado, October 26, 1874, and on the letterhead of "Wells, Fargo & Company's Express," shows that that firm charged eighteen dollars per hundred pounds on packages weighing more than fifteen pounds between Pueblo, Colorado, and Las Vegas, New Mexico; while packages weighing less than fifteen pounds were charged "according to size and value of the package."²⁰ The average of passenger fares charged on two New Mexico routes about whose rates we have some information was $10\frac{1}{2}\phi$ per mile.²¹

18. Arrott File. Fort Union, New Mexico, 1868, (File No. 2).

19. The original of this way-bill was presented to Rodgers Library, New Mexico Highlands University, by Mrs. Rose Hanosh of Mora, New Mexico. The sender of the package as indicated on the way-bill, Joseph Rouelle, was one of the last of the early trappers and traders in the Southwest. At one time or another he had been connected with Kit Carson, Ceran St. Vrain, and other well-known figures. Rouelle died at Mora October 9, 1877. See: *Las Vegas (New Mexico) Gazette*, October 30, 1877.

20. Letter from W. C. Griffin (Pueblo Agent for Wells, Fargo) to J. Rosenwald & Co., Las Vegas, New Mexico. New Mexico File, Rodgers Library. The present (1956) rate per hundred pounds between Las Vegas and Pueblo is \$5.28.

21. Las Vegas to White Oaks, $9\frac{1}{2}\phi$ per mile, *supra* note 7, Lake Valley to Kingston, $11\frac{1}{2}\phi$ per mile, Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 97. A line running between Santa Fe and Mesilla in 1867 charged \$75 one-way. The latter rate is based on the line's ledger book for that year in the possession of Mr. William Griffith of Socorro, New Mexico.

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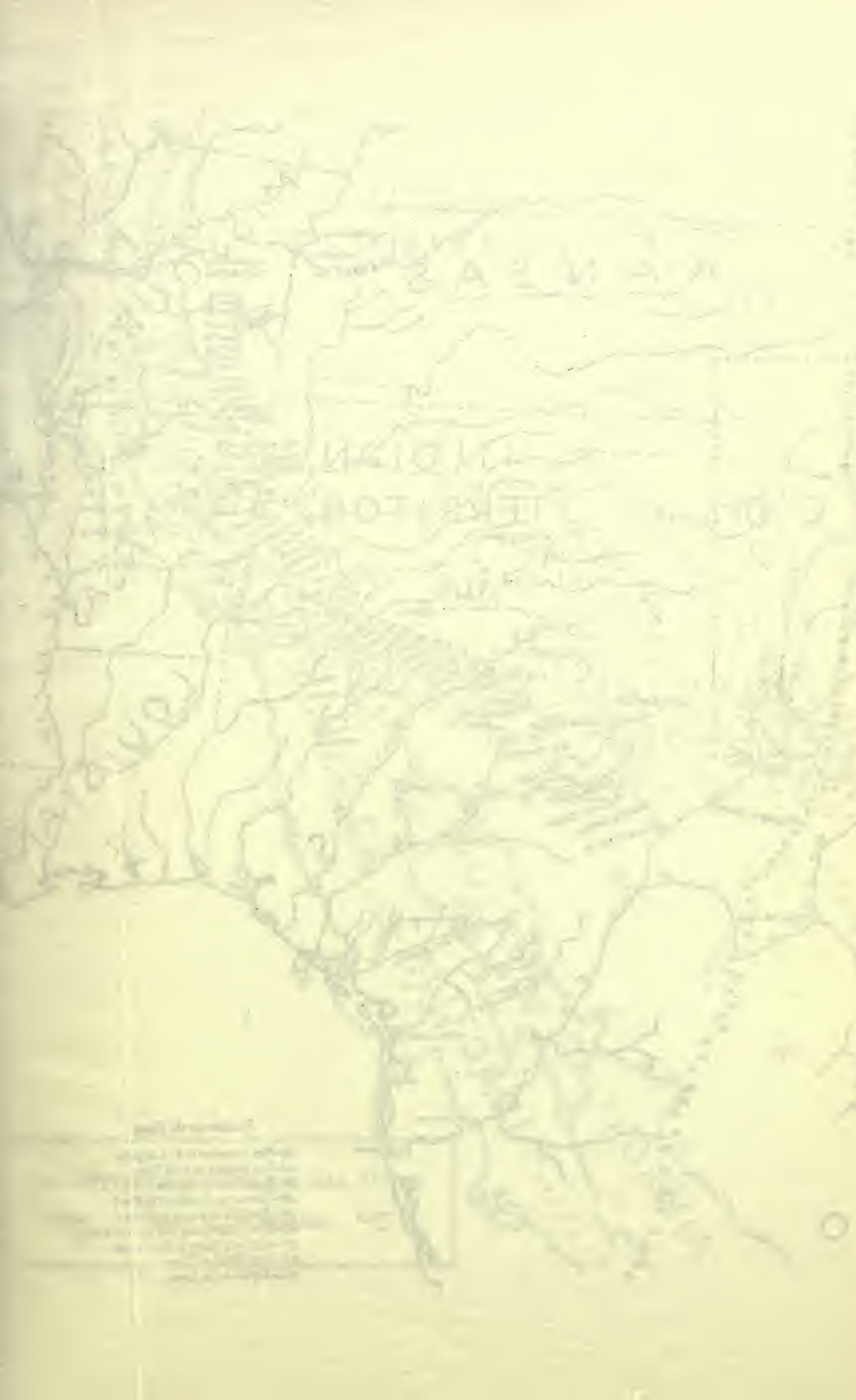
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Illustrations by courtesy of the Library, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; the Library, University of New Mexico; and Mrs. Rose Hanosh, Mora, New Mexico.

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The map by courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



Legend

- 1. State boundaries
- 2. Major cities
- 3. Rivers
- 4. Lakes
- 5. Mountains
- 6. Coastline
- 7. Scale

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Looking west from the crest of the Mimbres Mts. about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of Parks Pass. Dry Gavilan Cr. behind and below the ridge in the foreground, joins Gavilan Cr. behind second ridge. Gavilan Cr. continues west and joins Mimbres River whose course can be traced across upper middle of the picture from left to right. The Dome in prolongation of Gavilan Cr. Burro Mts. in the distance.

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KEARNY'S ROUTE FROM THE RIO GRANDE TO THE GILA RIVER

By GEORGE RUHLEN*✓

A ROADSIDE marker stands on New Mexico Highway No. 180 at the crest of the Mimbres Mountains between Hillsboro and Santa Rita bearing the following inscription:

EMORY PASS
Elevation 8178

Named in honor of Lt. W. H. Emory who passed by here with the Army of the West in 1846. His report to the U. S. Government is the earliest scientific account of this region which then belonged to Mexico.

To the casual tourist this is sufficient. To one familiar with the records of the Army of the West it presented a question: Was this the trail over precipitous ravines and across the knife edge of the Mimbres Mountains the one Kit Carson would have chosen to bring Brigadier General Kearny's troops from the Rio Grande to the Gila River?¹

Markings appear on old maps and new purporting to show Kearny's route across the Mimbres Mountains. Some writers have described the crossing in general terms, omitting in many cases essential and salient facts; others have disre-

* George Ruhlen, Colonel, US Army, Ret'd. 3550 Park Boulevard, San Diego 8, California.

1. Ross Calvin, *Lieutenant Emory Reports*, Univ. N. M. Press, 1951, p. 4. Dr. Calvin states he was responsible for the wording on the marker at Emory Pass, but since has discovered his mistake. "That actually the expedition crossed the high hills several miles further south. . . . The highway inscription, for which the editor was responsible, should say, not 'Emory passed by here,' but 'Emory passed near here.'"

garded or misinterpreted them. Although the remainder of Kearny's remarkable march from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego has been accurately defined for many years, this portion has long been shrouded in conjecture. The diaries and journals of those who accompanied Kearny contain copious details of the country traversed, notations of prominent and peculiar ground formations, streams, woodlands, direction of travel and distances.

A study of these notes and a comparison of the ground forms of the region with old and recent maps led to a reconstruction of the path taken by the Army of the West. Personal reconnaissance of the locations in question and recollections of pioneer residents corroborated the conclusions reached. Most able assistance was given by Mr. H. L. Parks, a pioneer rancher who has lived near the head of Berenda Canyon, Sierra County, for over seventy years. Mr. Parks is thoroughly familiar with southern New Mexico and the Mimbres region, which he has traversed on foot, horseback, wagon and automobile during his many years of active life.

Let us go back some one hundred and ten years ago to a fall morning in New Mexico; to ten o'clock in the morning, Tuesday, October 6, 1846. It is pleasantly cool with a light breeze blowing up river from the south. Under an overcast sky in the east a striking cloud effect, characteristic of New Mexico, is on display.² On the west bank of the Rio Del Norte, three miles south of the settlement of Socorro, five companies of the First Regiment of United States Dragoons are marching south. An hour earlier they had broken camp and now are continuing their journey down river, enroute to California a good nine hundred miles away. Their route is practically unexplored; neither wagon road nor well defined trail is known to exist; the way is barred by rugged mountains, arid deserts, and warlike Indians. Aroused Californians are probably by this time well prepared to meet these invaders at the end of their journey.

Far south in the distance movement is seen. The dragoons

2. W. H. Emory, *Notes on a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego, California*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., Hse. Ex. Doc. 41 (Wash., D. C., 1848), p. 167.

watch it with interest as it increases in size, then a thin cloud of dust arises. Coming nearer, the dust cloud resolves itself into a small group of mounted men who spur their horses and charge the marching column with wild Indian yells. The advance guard of the dragoons, well trained by a veteran of frontier skirmishes, deploys for action although doubting that the party has any hostile intent. They are experienced frontiersmen and recognize the charge as a customary mode of greeting common among mountain men.

The party is Kit Carson and fifteen of his men enroute from Los Angeles, California, to Washington, D. C., with important dispatches and mail. Carson is conducted to General Kearny and announces the startling and glorious news that the conquest of California has been accomplished by Commodore Stockton and Lieutenant Colonel Fremont. The province is under the American flag. Opposition to American rule has ceased and a civil government is to be organized and Fremont is to be made civil and military governor of California.

These tidings call for a drastic modification of Kearny's plans and a reorganization of his command. The dragoons no longer need to be the first echelon of a conquering army but rather an adequate escort for Kearny to reach California and complete the mission which has been given him by President Polk.

The route being followed was the southern or Gila Trail which followed the Rio Grande south for about two hundred and fifty miles, then turned abruptly west to the Gila River, down that stream to its confluence with the Colorado River, thence across the Colorado Desert and the coast range to San Diego. It was believed to provide sufficient water most of the way and enabled wagons to be driven on a well travelled road as far as the turning off place. Although the Camino Real to Chihuahua City had been in use for centuries no accurate information as to the routes nor any comprehensive description of the country immediately west of the Rio Grande could be obtained. However, in consideration of the advanced time of the year, it had been decided to take the lower route, the Gila Trail.

The troops started with escort wagons drawn by eight

mule teams in the hope that they might be able to cross the country with them.³ Thomas Fitzpatrick, famed mountain man, who knew the country as well as any American, served as guide; Antoine Robidoux was the interpreter. On October 5th, at the camp near Socorro, another conference was held to determine whether the column should leave the Rio Grande here and strike directly west for the Gila River or continue further south and take a trail which ran some eighteen miles south of the Copper Mines (modern Santa Rita). Years later this latter route was used by the Butterfield Overland Mail. The prospect of doubtful water, the expanse of sand, with lava and trap rock ridges in the hills to the west decided the command to continue further downstream before turning westward.⁴

Three miles from the Socorro camp Kit Carson met the column as previously related. It was a most fortunate meeting for Kearny. Carson had left Los Angeles on September 5th and had just traveled the Gila Trail over which the troops intended to march. As a young man he had worked several months for Robert McKnight at the Copper Mines in 1828; he was familiar with the Mimbres Mountain region and had trapped the Gila River and other streams in Arizona and New Mexico. Kearny could not have found a better guide, but Carson demurred, explaining that he had pledged himself to deliver important dispatches to Washington and must fulfill his promise. Kearny replied that he would relieve him of all responsibility and place the mail in the hands of a reliable person for safe delivery — Fitzpatrick. Carson finally consented and again turned his face to the west, forsaking his hopes of once again seeing his family after months of absence and but a few days journey away. This was the act of a brave man and Carson is honored for it.⁵

Resuming the march, camp was established thirteen miles

3. Maj. Thos. Swords, *Report to the War Department on General Kearny's March from Fort Leavenworth to the Pacific Ocean and Return*, Oct. 8, 1847.

4. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Capt. A. R. Johnston, *Journal* (included in Emory's *Notes*), p. 571. Hereafter will be cited in these notes as Emory, *op. cit.* John S. Griffin, *A Doctor comes to California*, California Historical Society (San Francisco, 1948), p. 20.

5. D. C. Peters, *Pioneer Life and Frontier Adventures* (Boston, 1883), p. 281. *Kit Carson's Autobiography*, ed. Milo M. Quaife (Chicago, 1935), p. 109. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 572. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

below Socorro in a grove of beautiful cottonwoods where the command was reorganized due to Carson's astounding news. Kearny selected to accompany him to California his personal staff consisting of Captain Abraham R. Johnston, aide-de-camp, Captain Henry S. Turner, adjutant general, Major Thomas Swords, quartermaster, Dr. John S. Griffin, assistant surgeon; Companies C and K, First Dragoons, commanded by Captain Benjamin D. Moore and Lieutenant Thomas C. Hammond, respectively; Lieutenant Wm. H. Emory's detachment of Topographical Engineers; two mountain howitzers on wheeled carriages in charge of Lieutenant John W. Davidson; a wagon train and a group of scouts and guides, in all about 140 men. The rest of the dragoons were placed under the command of Major Sumner with orders to remain in New Mexico during the winter.⁶

On October 9th the troops camped about twelve miles north of Elephant Butte in the river bottoms. Carson informed Kearny that at the rate of progress being made with the supply wagons it would take four months to reach California and he had serious doubts that they could be taken over parts of the Gila Trail. Anticipating that such might be the case pack saddles had been ordered before leaving Santa Fe but had been left with Major Sumner. These were sent for at once. The troops remained in camp until the 13th when they crossed the river to better grazing ground on the west bank. That evening the pack saddles arrived together with the last mail to be received that year.

Now the entire command was mule borne greatly to the relief of everybody except Lieutenant William H. Emory commanding the Topographical Engineer detachment — with him it was far otherwise. Now the instruments on which he depended to make accurate surveys of the route, the main reason for his accompanying the expedition, which had heretofore been carried so safely in the instrument wagon, were to be entrusted to the backs of pack mules of dubious temperament.

6. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 572. Griffin, *ibid.* *Muster Rolls of Companies C and K, 1st Regt. US Dragoons, Aug. 31, 1846, to Oct. 31, 1846.* National Archives, Wash., D. C. The actual strength of the two companies was 108 enlisted men. Three additional dragoons over the 100 selected were on extra duty with the surgeon as hospital stewards.

We are indebted to Emory for many of the early surveys, maps and scientific information on the Southwest. He was one of the nation's most distinguished topographers and a few years later became United States Commissioner on the International Boundary Commission which established the United States-Mexican boundary. His detachment included Lieutenant William H. Warner of the Topographical Engineers, Norman Bestor, civil engineer and topographer, J. M. Stanley, artist and draftsman, and several experienced "mountain men." This group was charged with making astronomical observations, preparing the report of daily progress, collecting botanical, mineral, and other specimens, noting geological formations, and compiling the topographical surveying data which were used in preparing the map showing the route of march from Fort Leavenworth to Los Angeles.

Emory, prior to his departure from Washington, D. C., to join Kearny, had only twenty-four hours to procure and assemble his equipment, insufficient time to obtain all the observing instruments that would be needed on the expedition. He was unable to find proper chronometers or a telescope powerful enough to observe the eclipses of satellites of the planets, although two 8½ inch sextants and two box chronometers were supplied. While crossing the Allegheny Mountains the stage carrying the party capsized and thereafter the rates of the chronometers were affected.⁷

Emory states, "The latitudes were determined by measuring with one of the sextants the double altitudes of stars near the meridian, and at all important points by observations on north and south stars as nearly as they could be obtained by equal altitudes. At these last points, where the observations are multiplied, their places may be depended upon to the nearest five seconds." This distance on the meridional arc at the mean latitude in which the observations were made is equivalent to about five hundred feet on the ground. A check of all the recorded observations made during the march from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego indicates that the latitudes of camps whose sites can be determined on present day maps are

7. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 131.

close enough to those obtained by Emory that any differences fall within a divergence of a quarter of a mile.⁸

The determination of longitude is not so simple. Being a function of time, longitude depends upon accurate timepieces in order to establish the time difference, converted into arc, between one's own local meridian and that of Greenwich, England. The accident to the chronometers has been mentioned and it is remarkable that despite the use of chronometers whose rates had been adversely affected Emory's observations were so precise.

If the course of the Rio Grande as shown on Emory's map is projected onto United States Geological Survey maps of New Mexico, it will be found to be displaced to the west several miles. Along the lower reaches of the river, south of Socorro, this displacement is about 7' 30" of longitude, equivalent to seven and one third miles. In other words, the Rio Grande is seven miles further east than Emory at the time thought it was.⁹

Elevations were obtained by use of a mercury barometer, an instrument, as a rule, not dependable unless nearby elevations are available at the time of observation and comparisons can be made. At high altitudes changes in barometric pressure of a few hundredths of an inch will cause considerable variations of corresponding elevations in feet. Barometric elevations, however, are of value in reconnaissance work when more accurate means are not available, which was the case with Emory.

Emory numbered the camps on the march serially beginning with Fort Leavenworth as No. 1. Each day several readings of the barometer and thermometer were made and together with remarks as to the weather, winds and clouds were entered on the records. Astronomical observations were not made at every camp, but generally every other day and the distances traveled between these camps recorded.

Emory's fears for his pack-borne instruments were well founded. The rates of the chronometers were so affected that

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, 130.

9. *Reports of Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-56.* 36 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Doc. 78, Vol. XI, pt. II, pp. 96-7.

calculations of longitude made between October 9th and 26th were derived from direct measurements and from lunar distances. The viameter for measuring distances, formerly attached to a wheel of the instrument wagon, was now attached to a wheel of one of the mountain howitzers. Shortly after leaving the Rio Grande while going through some dense undergrowth at dusk it was brushed off and lost.¹⁰

Some writers and readers have assumed that the locations where Emory made his astronomical observations can be plotted on modern maps by simply using his astronomical data without adjustments for the errors in longitude discussed before. Such obviously is not the case. Where Kearny's column followed well known trails, especially along the Rio Grande, Arkansas and Gila Rivers, his route can readily be traced. When he left these river valleys, astronomical observations corrected for displacement errors, barometric elevations, descriptive terrain features, peculiar geological formations, and estimated or measured distances must be used to correctly establish his route.

The dragoons moved out on the 14th with the pack train, a pack for almost every person. The mules cavorted and some packs were thrown, but soon order was restored in the train and the march down river progressed for seventeen miles until camp was made in the river bottom below Elephant Butte, probably in the outskirts of the present town of Truth or Consequences. This camp is listed by Emory as No. 72.¹¹

The next day the march down river continued for three or four miles. There the column left the river and immediately ascended two hundred feet to the tableland. The direction changed to south-southwest, bearing almost on Cooke's Peak, then known as Picacho de los Mimbres, far in the distance. It was a plain trail and evidently Kit Carson knew exactly where he was going. The tableland was cut by arroyos and ravines, two enormous canyons being crossed in succession, "both deep and wide enough to contain all the waters of the Mississippi River," probably the valleys of Seco Creek

10. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 56. Capt. H. S. Turner, *Diary* (Mss. in Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, Mo.).

11. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 575. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Swords, *ibid.*

and Animas Creek.¹² After marching twenty-four miles Camp No. 73 was established at a place where a fine leaping mountain stream dashed through a rock cut fifty feet deep and twenty feet wide; only a short distance further on the water disappeared into the sand. Here an astronomical observation was made: latitude $32^{\circ} 55' 04''$; longitude (corrected for longitudinal error of $7' 30''$) $107^{\circ} 28' 45''$; elevation 4,810 feet. This location plots on modern maps five miles directly east of Hillsboro in the valley of Percha Creek at an elevation of about 4,900 feet.¹³

It is a simple matter to locate the place where Kearny's command left the Rio Grande and headed westward to the Gila River. Camp No. 70, October 9th to 13th, was on the east bank of the river where a stay was made awaiting the delivery of the pack saddles. This spot was 203 miles from Santa Fe.¹⁴ The camp was moved one mile across the river on the 13th. On the 14th a march of seventeen miles was made to Camp No. 72 in the vicinity of present Truth or Consequences. The following morning, at a point three or four miles down stream the command left the river.

According to Emory's *Notes* this spot was 225 miles from Santa Fe. Maps of the United States Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian, generally known by the name of the army officer who supervised it as the Wheeler Survey, show the distance from Santa Fe to the point of turn off to be 225 miles. Although the surveys for these maps were made about thirty years after Kearny's march, few changes occurred along the route, other than some minor improvements to facilitate the passage of wagons. It was the same road of sand, rocks and cactus that travelers had trudged for many years.

Today US Highway 85 follows or parallels the old road along the west bank of the Rio Grande. Along this highway the distance from Santa Fe to Kearny's turn off point is 218 miles. These data substantiate the conclusion that this place

12. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 576. Griffin, *ibid.* Turner, *ibid.*

13. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 167, 177, 576. Griffin, *ibid.* Turner, *ibid.*

14. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

was below Elephant Butte and approximately where the river makes an elbow bend into present Caballo Reservoir.

Between the Rio Grande and the Gila River the locations of three of Kearny's campsites, Nos. 75, 77, and 78, can readily be determined. They can be plotted on modern maps by using the latitudes obtained by Emory and measuring distances from known identifiable landmarks. Camp No. 75 was reached on October 17th. "We then came to the Rio Mimbres, and crossed it, and encamped three miles from it, among hills of volcanic rock."¹⁵ This plots on a small water course locally known as Tom Brown Creek, three miles northwest of present day Swartz, which is situated on the Mimbres River. Camp No. 77 was located west of present Silver City on Mangas (Night) Creek where it makes a bend to the west to join the Gila River. This point is five miles from the Gila River.¹⁶ Camp No. 78, October 20th, was on the Gila River two and one-half miles south of the mouth of Mangas Creek.¹⁷

These initial locations were plotted and verified on a modern map. In each case they are 7' 30" east of the position registered by Emory's observations. Assuming that the longitudinal correction of 7' 30" is applicable to all camp locations between the Rio Grande and the Gila River, a reasonable postulate as all observations were made within a period of six days and under similar conditions, and that the latitudes are correct within the allowable tolerance, then these spots can be plotted by geographical coordinates on modern maps.

The next problem to be solved was the determination of the locations of Camps Nos. 74 and 76 and the reconstruction of the march route between Camp No. 73 and Camp No. 77. This was accomplished by considering the march distances recorded in journals, by supplementing map studies with a reconnaissance on the ground to compare existing terrain features with those described by Kearny's officers, by analyzing information offered by early settlers, and by checking Emory's elevations with those shown on modern maps. After months of effort, extending over several years, testing vari-

15. *Ibid.*, p. 577.

16. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 579. Turner, *ibid.*

17. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 580. Turner, *Ibid.*

ous possibilities, Kearny's route was finally retraced and plotted.

The troops marched at 8:00 A.M. on the 16th of October. The journal accounts of Emory, Johnston, Griffin, and Turner accurately describe the route as a stiff climb through the foothills to the beautiful, rolling, grama grass country south of Hillsboro, with its small streams, tree growths and the dark escarpment of the Mimbres Range to the west. Emory gives the distance marched as 17 miles, Griffin 18 to 20 miles, Turner 19 miles, and Johnston, "Distance 17 miles; 7 southwest." Johnston's meaning was that Camp No. 74 was seventeen miles southwesterly from Camp No. 73 and seven miles west of a north and south line drawn through Camp No. 73. The encampment was made on a small stream flowing down from the Mimbres Range. Johnston rode to a nearby hill to view the country and "From a peak two miles southeast of camp the view presented was very grand; and twenty to thirty miles wide, covered with grass lays below, the valley of the Del Norte widening to the south as far as El Paso, the peaks of the mountains standing around in the distance like the frame of a picture."¹⁸

The distance given, the stream, Emory's trace of the route, and Johnston's view from the peak fix the site of the camp as on Berenda Creek near the Nunn ranch and about three miles west of present Lake Valley, Sierra County. No other location meets all these conditions. Mr. Parks states that this is one of the few places in the area where surface water has always been known to be found. From a hill two miles west of Lake Valley and about two miles southeast of the Nunn ranch one can see Doña Ana Mountain and the jagged crest of the Organ Mountains, as well as a panorama of the mountains from the San Andres to the Floridas. It is one of the few spots in this area where such an unobstructed view can be so obtained.

Johnston thought that the Organ Mountains were at El Paso (modern Juarez) as the maps available at that time placed El Paso at the actual latitude of Doña Ana. Scaled from the maps of the New Mexico State Highway Commis-

18. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 576-7.

sion, the distance from the site of Camp No. 73 to that of Camp No. 74 measures seventeen miles. Emory's recorded elevation was 5,229 feet; United States Geological Survey maps show it as about 5,400 feet; the Wheeler Survey as 5,289 feet. The journals' descriptions accurately portray the existing tree growths, geological formations and rock strata. The reconstructed location of Camp No. 74 is shown on the map accompanying this article. Unfortunately, a cloudy evening prevented astronomical observations by Emory.¹⁹

Determining the route of march on October 17th from Camp No. 74 to Camp No. 75 became the most difficult task of the entire study, even though its terminus, Camp No. 75, could be accurately located. It is one of the few marches whose distance was recorded by neither Emory, Johnston nor Griffin. Turner estimated it as being twenty miles.²⁰ The various descriptions of the route fit almost any part of that area of New Mexico with two significant exceptions; one confusing entry of Emory's unduly complicated the search. To add to the difficulties, this portion of New Mexico is one of the sections which has not been mapped by the United States Geological Survey, making reliable map studies difficult.

The fact that Kit Carson who had covered this route several times was guiding the party and that the purpose of the march was to reach California and not to explore the country indicated that the most direct and easiest way would be used. The very absence of comments in the journals of any difficulties in crossing corroborated this assumption as does Johnston's statement that the route was a bad one for wagons but a good one could be made.²¹ Since the trail was known to Carson and presumably to other trappers, it probably was one also known and used by Indians.

Quoting Emory, "We ascended from the stream, on which we were encamped, by a narrow valley for 2½ hours before reaching the summit between it and the Mimbres, which was

19. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 177, 577. Griffin, *ibid.* Turner, *ibid.* Lt. G. M. Wheeler, *United States Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian*, Atlas sheet No. 84 (Wash., D. C., 1881).

20. Turner, *ibid.*

21. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

so indistinct that I passed it several miles before discovering it." He continues,

We descended in an arroyo towards the Rio Mimbres, very narrow, and full of shattered pitch stone; the sides and bank covered with a thick growth of stunted live oak. In full view, nearly the whole time of our descent, was a mountain of peculiar symmetry, resembling the segment of a spheroid. I named it "the Dome." Our road led along its base to the north; another path leading to Janos, a frontier town in Sonora, passes down the Mimbres on the south side. The Mimbres was traversed only a mile; . . . We turned westward and ascended all the way to our camp.²²

The description of the arroyo fits Gavilan Canyon in every detail. Emory also stated that the summit crossing of the Mimbres Mountains was made at 6,000 feet.²³ As none of his elevations along the entire route vary more than two hundred feet from the true, it appeared reasonable to consider this elevation as one of the conditions to be met by any route investigated. A two and one-half hour march by mule in this region is approximately equivalent to a distance of nine miles.

"The Dome" appeared to be the key terrain feature to the route, but peaks which at first seemed to match its description had to be rejected. O-Bar-O Peak on the north side of Berenda Valley, an early candidate, can not be seen after the summit of the Mimbres Range is crossed. Cooks Peak is the most prominent land mark in the region and can be seen while descending the west slope of the Mimbres Mountains, but the trail taken by Kearny's force did not continue along its base to the north, nor does Emory's trace of the route show any dip to the south, but rather an almost due west course.

The present road up Berenda Creek ends at the Parks ranch. Upon being told of the search for "the Dome" and for Kearny's trail, Mr. Parks became quite interested and during the course of the following years spent much time reflecting on possible routes based on his intimate knowledge of the

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 136.

country since the late 1880's. With Mr. Parks as guide and co-explorer a mounted reconnaissance on horseback was made of several possible routes.

Emory's account implies that the route lay up Berenda Creek to its head. However, this course is very rugged, the Mimbres crest is crossed at an elevation of 7,400 feet, just south of Thompson Cone, six hundred feet higher; no formation meeting the description of "the Dome" can be seen, nor does the descent to the Mimbres River resemble the accounts in the several journals. Also, it would require the route to swing considerably to the north. Similar conditions apply to a way up Macho Creek or North Taylor Creek, although the crossings are a bit lower; in neither case is anything like a gap or pass found, but merely a very sharp knife ridge a few feet wide.

Mr. Parks had come to the conclusion that "the Dome" might well be a formation that appeared as such from one direction only, and if such were the case that direction would have to be almost in prolongation of the line of march, since Emory stated that it was visible during almost the entire descent. He could recall no such formation but was familiar with an old trail, later improved to a wagon road, which ran up Pollock Creek on the east side of the mountains, crossed the summit and followed Dry Gavilan Creek and then Gavilan Creek to the Mimbres River. He had ridden and driven over this trail many times as it was used to haul supplies from the Mimbres Valley to Lake Valley when that town was a booming mining settlement.

Riding to the crest which divides the head of Pollock Creek, on the east, from Dry Gavilan Creek on the west, a low saddle in the ridge some forty yards broad was found. To the west, Dry Gavilan Creek joins Gavilan Creek and continues due west to meet the Mimbres River. In prolongation of the line of Gavilan Creek and about two miles west of the Mimbres River is a solitary hemispherical hill which a glance showed answered the description of Emory's "Dome." It is obvious it would lie directly in front of anyone descending Gavilan Creek. Even when viewed a few hundred yards from either side of the saddle its distinctive spherical shape less-

ened. The elevation of the saddle, to which the name of Parks Pass was given, as it had none — nor ever had one, so far as can be determined — in recognition of the Parks family's long association with the region, was recorded as approximately 6,300 feet.

The route up Pollock Creek and down Gavilan Creek, according to old settlers, was an old Indian trail. Pollock Creek is named for a rancher who settled there and was killed by Indians about 1886. The ruins of his cabin still stand on the bank of the stream. The Parks ranch was attacked by Indians in the mid 1880's, and a skirmish between Indians and elements of the 9th U. S. Cavalry took place in Gavilan Canyon in 1881. Hallenbeck's reconstruction of Cabeza de Vaca's route of 1534-1536 indicates that this trail was probably in use by Indians even then.²⁴ Subsequent to Kearny this same trail was used by Fremont in March of 1849 and by William Chamberlin's party in July of the same year.²⁵ Countless others have since used it.

The route over Parks Pass meets all the conditions applicable to Kearny's route, except one. Distances check, descriptions of terrain features check, elevations check approximately, and the trail is so easy that even today it is passable for a jeep or pick-up truck as far as the pass. Finally, it is the one route from which "the Dome" can be seen while descending a canyon. The one exception is Emory's statement that he passed the summit by a mile before realizing it.

Parks Pass is not a knife ridge, being practically level for some forty yards, but the summit is unmistakable. No explanation seems completely plausible. Unable to take observations, worry about his instruments, the loss of the viameter, engrossed by Kit Carson's identifying various landmarks, Emory may have neglected mentally to note the crossing of the Mimbres Range. Another explanation may be that the notes of this day's march became confused with those pertaining to the crossing of the continental divide a few days later. Some errors are evident in the entries for that

24. Cleve Hallenbeck, *Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* (Glendale, 1940), p. 222.

25. John C. Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life* (New York, 1887), Map. Wm. Chamberlin, *Journal*, ed. L. B. Bloom, *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW* (Santa Fe, 1945). Vol. XX, no. 2, p. 155.

latter day.²⁶ But for a false reliance in the accuracy of this statement of Emory and consequent search for a very gentle grade over the Mimbres Mountains, a determination of the route would have been reached months sooner.

Let us reconstruct the march of October 17th. Upon leaving Camp No. 74 in the Berenda valley at 8:00 A.M., the column left Berenda Creek by a narrow draw on the south side, crossed the upper reaches of Macho Creek, then ascended Pollock Creek to its head and crossed Parks Pass about nine miles from camp. The descent followed Dry Gavilan Creek to its juncture with Gavilan Creek and thence to the Mimbres River, so clear and refreshing in its beauty. Here the animals were watered and a few fish caught.²⁷ Crossing to the west bank, the column swung a mile upstream to the site of present Swartz and then northwest up Tom Brown Creek for about three miles to where Camp No. 75 was pitched among hills of volcanic rock, cedar trees and grass. An astronomical observation was made here: latitude 32° 42' 11"; longitude (corrected) 107° 52' 30"; elevation 5,426 feet. United States Geological Survey maps show the elevation as about 5,600 feet.²⁸

Why the route over Parks Pass was not used for the principal road over the mountains instead of present State Highway No. 180 probably would be an interesting tale in itself. Possibly it was due to the discovery of precious metals at Gold Dust, Hillsboro, and Kingston. The miners of these diggings wanted direct communication with Silver City and Santa Rita and used the shortest way by continuing the trail over the mountains in a direct line. Also, Hillsboro was a county seat in former times, and it is probable that the ranchers farther south were adverse to the building of a road cutting through their ranges. When the diggings at Lake Valley and other places petered out, the farmers in the Mimbres valley no longer had a ready market for their produce there and the Parks Pass road had served its needs. However, even today, it is one of the best routes across the

26. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 578.

27. Griffin, *ibid.* Turner, *ibid.*

28. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 168, 177, 577.

Mimbres Mountains and the trace of the old road is still visible.

The path of the dragoons to the Copper Mines was a natural trail with easy grades which continued in use for many years as the most direct way to Santa Rita. Mr. Parks told of riding on it from his ranch to Santa Rita to dances when he was a young man and then returning the next morning for a day's work. From Camp No. 75, near Swartz, Kearny proceeded on the 18th up the creek, across a ridge into Lamp-bright Draw, northwestward up the draw, around the mountain now known as the Kneeling Nun, but named Ben Moore by Emory for his friend Captain Benjamin D. Moore of the First Dragoons, who later was killed at San Pasqual — Emory was punning here, as "Ben" is a common Scots term for a single mountain. The route was an old trail and shows on Wheeler Survey map No. 84. Two miles beyond the copper mines Camp No. 76 was made on a beautiful creek, probably Hanover Creek.²⁹

The copper mines were visited and specimens of ore collected for the mineral exhibit. Mangas Coloradas, the Apache chief, visited the camp and promised good faith and friendship for the Americans. After receiving presents he agreed to meet the command at San Vicente Springs. Early the next morning the column set out in fine spirits heading directly west to the springs, the site of present Silver City, to meet the Apaches. However, upon arrival at the springs no Indians were found. All the grass around had been eaten, so the march was continued until long after dark to Camp No. 77, on Mangas Creek where it makes a bend to the west.

The Apaches came into camp on the morning of the 20th and brisk trading ensued for mules, but only a few were obtained. Marching at noon, the Gila River, five miles away, was reached about 3:00 P.M. Camp No. 78 was made on the river about two and one half miles down stream from the mouth of Mangas Creek.

If that portion of Emory's map between the Rio Grande and the Gila River is enlarged to the same scale as the sketch map printed with this article and then superimposed upon it,

29. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Turner, *ibid.*

the trace of Kearny's route on the Emory map practically coincides with the route platted on the sketch map. Map distances check throughout, terrain features check on the ground with descriptions in journals, directions check, "the Dome" is in the correct location, and Emory's barometric elevations are within a reasonable tolerance of two hundred feet. At 6,000 feet one hundredth of an inch on the barometer scale is equivalent to over eleven feet of altitude. In brief, the plotted route is considered to meet all tests as the true route which Kearny followed.

By evening of October 20, 1846, when camp was made beside the upper waters of the Gila River, Kearny's command had crossed the jagged escarpment of the Mimbres Mountains and the continental divide. Now ahead lay the long march down the Gila River, across the Colorado River, then the Colorado Desert to the end of the trail at San Diego. At four o'clock Saturday afternoon, December 12, 1846, Kearny and his weary dragoons marched into Old Town during a pouring rain. Their march of nearly two thousand miles from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean was completed for all but three officers and seventeen enlisted men of the First Dragoons; their trail ended forever on the field of battle at the little Indian village of San Pasqual, California, December 6, 1846.

EXIT AXTELL: ENTER WALLACE

By PHILIP J. RASCH*

DURING the 1870s the Federal Government was deluged with complaints about the political and economic conditions in Lincoln County, Territory of New Mexico. In 1878 the outcries attained such a volume that they could no longer be ignored. Frank Warner Angel, a New York attorney, was appointed a Special Agent, representing both the Department of the Interior and the Department of Justice, and sent to the Territory to examine and report on the situation. Unfortunately, his original instructions cannot be located in the National Archives.¹ It is evident from his letters that his assignment included the investigation of the killing of John H. Tunstall and of the charges which had been preferred against Frederick C. Godfroy, Agent of the Mescalero Apaches; Thomas B. Catron, United States District Attorney; Samuel B. Axtell, Governor of the Territory, and the Surveyor General.

His task proved to be no easy one. In one report he stated :

I was met by every opposition possible by the United States civil officials and every obstacle thrown in my way by them to prevent a full and complete examination — with one exception and that of the surveyor general who not only sought but insisted on a full examination. . . .²

Angel reached the conclusion that Tunstall had been murdered in cold blood, recommended the removal of Axtell³ and suggested that Godfroy be permitted to resign.⁴ His action in regard to Catron is not known, since the report which he

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1. Report by Marion Johnson, with Thad Page to P. J. Rasch, July 28, 1955.

2. Frank Warner Angel to C. Schurz, Oct. 3, 1878. Record Group 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Appointment Division, Letters Received, Territorial Governors, New Mexico, 1849-78. National Archives.

3. Frank Warner Angel to Charles Devens, Undated Report, Department of Justice. National Archives.

4. Frank Warner Angel to C. Schurz, Oct. 2, 1878. Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. National Archives.

submitted and Catron's subsequent letter of resignation cannot be located in the files of the National Archives.^{5, 6}

Less than a month after Angel visited Lincoln, the plaza erupted into five days (July 15-19, 1878) of fighting between the friends of the deceased Tunstall, led by Alexander A. McSween, and the partisans of Lawrence G. Murphy, James J. Dolan and John H. Riley. Angel had arrived home in August and had obtained permission from Attorney General Charles Devens to remain with his family while preparing his reports. However, on August 17 he was suddenly ordered to proceed to Washington immediately to present a brief report to President Rutherford B. Hayes.

Angel's description of affairs in New Mexico apparently convinced the President that Axtell must be replaced as governor of New Mexico. At the suggestion of Postmaster General Tyner, himself from Indiana, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz offered the position to Lewis Wallace, of Crawfordsville, Indiana, a son of David Wallace, one time governor of that state. Wallace, a former Civil War major general and member of the military commission which had tried persons accused of implication in the assassination of President Lincoln, was at this time fifty-one years of age and thoroughly bored by his law practice. He had been a loyal worker for the election of Hayes and had hoped for an appointment as minister to Italy, Spain, Brazil or Mexico in return for his services.⁷ However, excited by the prospect of adventure and wealth on the frontier, he accepted the proffered post. On September 4 Schurz sent him an order suspending Axtell as governor and appointing Wallace as his successor.

On September 13 Wallace reported to Schurz for instructions. About two weeks later he left Crawfordsville for Santa Fe. The Indianian traveled by way of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe to Pueblo, Colorado, by narrow gauge to Trinidad, and thence by buckboard to Cimarron, New Mexico, where he rested a few days as the house guest of Frank Springer. The citizens of Cimarron, who had hailed the news

5. Bess Glenn to P. J. Rasch, Aug. 2, 1955.

6. Bess Glenn to P. J. Rasch, Dec. 13, 1955.

7. Irving Wallace, "*Ben-Hur*" Wallace. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947, p. 136.

of Axtell's removal with a 50 gun salute, gave the new governor an enthusiastic welcome. He was tendered a reception at the home of Judge Lee and was the subject of a highly laudatory article in the local paper.

Wallace arrived at Santa Fe on Sunday evening, September 29, where his reception was considerably more restrained than it had been at Cimarron. The *Rocky Mountain Sentinel*⁸ noted that his appearance was a surprise and disappointment to quite a number of those who had hoped that Axtell's removal would not be consummated. On Monday afternoon the new governor took the oath of office from Associate Justice Samuel G. Parks, of the Territorial Supreme Court. The following day he sent Axtell a note informing him that he had qualified. Enclosed was the order of suspension. Accompanied by U. S. Marshal John E. Sherman and Judge Henry L. Waldo, Wallace then called upon Axtell in person. To save the discredited official all humiliation possible, Wallace requested that there be no public ceremony at his inauguration, and granted his predecessor two weeks time in which to move out of his official residence, El Palacio del Gobernador. Asked about the Lincoln County troubles, he stated that he would go there at once, and "if peace and quiet are not fully restored in that county within the next sixty days I will feel ashamed of myself." To Schurz he wrote, "As to Lincoln county, I shall go to see the people immediately."⁹

The state of affairs in Lincoln County was dark indeed. With neither posse nor troops to assist him, Sheriff George W. Peppin was completely powerless. The result was chaos. Bands of armed men roamed the country, rustling, stealing, burning property, abducting and raping women, and openly defying the sheriff to arrest them. On September 6, Joe Bowers and Sam Smith, of the McSween faction, had run off all of Charles Fritz's horses while they were being herded by his sons only six hundred yards from his house,¹⁰ but their

8. Santa Fe *Rocky Mountain Sentinel*, Oct. 2, 1878.

9. Lew Wallace to C. Schurz, Oct. 1, 1878. The William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

10. N. A. M. Dudley to Act. Asst. Adjutant General, District of New Mexico, Sept. 7, 1878. Records of the War Department, Office of the Adjutant General, File 1405, AGO, 1878. National Archives.

crime was minor indeed compared with those of the Wrestlers.¹¹ This marauding band was led by John Selman,¹² alias John Gunter, who was afterwards to win a dubious sort of fame by shooting John Wesley Hardin in the back.¹³ Alleged to be included in the gang were Thomas Selman, alias "Tom Cat," Charles Snow,¹⁴ alias Johnson, Reese Gobly, V. S. Whitaker, John Nelson, Robert Speakes, Gus Gildea, James Irvin, William Dwyer and one Collins.¹⁵ On a sweep through the county during the latter part of September, they burned the Coe ranch house at Tinnie, after first stealing everything of value.¹⁶ They wrecked Hoggins' Saloon (the old Murphy Brewery) near Lincoln, abused his wife and sister, and seriously injured a man named Sheppard when he remonstrated against their treatment of the women.¹⁷ On the Hondo they wantonly murdered two boys, Clato and Desiderio Chavez, and a crazy boy named Lorenzo Lucero.¹⁸ Stealing what horses they could find, they proceeded to the Martin Sanchez ranch and killed his fourteen year old son, Gregorio. A few nights later they raped two women.¹⁹ Not long afterwards it was reported that the bodies of Reese Gobly, James Irvin and "Rustling Bob" had been found on the Pecos, presumably murdered by their fellows.

In one of his reports of their depredations, Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Augustus Monroe Dudley,²⁰ commanding Fort Stanton, begged,

11. It seems likely that "Wrestlers" is a mistaken rendition of the word Rustlers.

12. Selman was killed by U. S. Deputy Marshal George Scarborough in El Paso, Texas, on April 5, 1896. See State of Texas vs. Geo. A. Scarborough, Cause No. 1945. Also El Paso *Daily Times*, April 7, 1896.

13. See State of Texas vs. John Selman, Cause No. 1874. Also El Paso *Times*, Aug. 20, 21, 22, 1895.

14. Charles Snow was one of the Clanton gang of rustlers wiped out by Mexicans in Guadalupe Canyon on August 13, 1881. See Phil Rasch, "A Note on Buckskin Frank Leslie," in 1954 *Brand Book*, Denver Posse of The Westerners. Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company, 1955, p. 208.

15. See Causes 272, 273, 275, 276, 327, 328, 329 and 330, Lincoln County, New Mexico.

16. George Coe, *Frontier Fighter*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. 106.

17. N. A. M. Dudley to Acting Asst. Adj. General, District of New Mexico, Sept. 28, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

18. N. A. M. Dudley to Asst. Adj. General, District of New Mexico, Sept. 29, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

19. N. A. M. Dudley to Act. Asst. Adj. General, District of New Mexico, Oct. 8, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

20. For a brief biography of this individual see P. J. Rasch, "A Note on N. A. M.

"I respectfully and earnestly ask in the name of God and humanity, that I may be allowed to use the forces at my command to drive these murderers, horse-thieves and escaped convicts out of the country."

Following the rape of the two women, he sent Captain Henry Carroll out with twenty men to provide protection for the citizens. Colonel Edward Hatch, commanding the District of New Mexico, immediately notified him that his action was in violation of orders and instructed that Carroll be recalled at once.²¹

Sherman informed Wallace that he had warrants for residents of Lincoln County but was powerless to execute them due to the condition of affairs there.²² Judge Warren Bristol telegraphed from Mesilla that it was impossible to hold court in Lincoln County.²³ Probate Judge Florencio Gonzales, Justices of the Peace John B. Wilson, George Kimble, Nicolas Torres, J. Gregorio Trujillo and County Commissioners Saturnino Baca and Francisco Romero y Luna petitioned for protection under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, warning that the force of the outlaws was stronger in the county than was that of the law-abiding citizens.²⁴ Dudley wrote that "ten murders have been reported within the last fifteen days. No man, woman, or child is safe in the county outside of the shadow of the Military."²⁵

Terrified for their very lives, even the citizens who had taken no part in the Murphy-Dolan-Riley-Tunstall-McSween troubles found it necessary to move elsewhere. The *Las Vegas Gazette* reported:

Six wagon loads of emigrants from North and South Spring in Lincoln County,²⁶ passed through town Tuesday go-

Dudley," *The Westerners Brand Book*. Los Angeles: The Los Angeles Westerners, 1950, pp. 207-214. Since that account was written the War Department has removed a great deal of very important material about Dudley from the classified list. His actions at Lincoln need to be re-evaluated in the light of this newly-available material.

21. Loud to Comdg. Officer, Fort Stanton, Oct. 8, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

22. John Sherman, Jr. to Lew Wallace, Oct. 4, 1878. William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

23. Bristol to Sherman, Oct. 4, 1878. The William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

24. Florencio Gonzales *et al.* to Lew Wallace, Oct. 8, 1878. The William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

25. N. A. M. Dudley to Lewis Wallace, Oct. 10, 1878. The William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

26. This apparently refers to the Mormon settlers who had been welcomed by John

ing north. They were driven out by the lawless element of the section. They had tried hard to take no part in the contest and preferred to leave rather than to take either side. About twenty horses had been taken from them. A deputy sheriff rode up and demanded that they take up arms and go with them and fight. This they refused to do and loaded up and left the country. They left their houses, lands, standing crops, gardens and everything pertaining to comfortable homes. They will seek employment on the railroad. No new country can well afford to lose so industrious and law abiding class of people.²⁷

In spite of the *Gazette's* warning the troubles continued. The Beckwiths, the Pierces, William Powell and Lewis Paxton fled the county. Saturnino Baca remained, but was forced to seek refuge at Fort Stanton. The post offices at Roswell, Seven Rivers, and Lloyd's Station were abandoned.²⁸ The settlement of Antelope, near Roswell, was deserted, and a steady stream of families flowed out of the territory.²⁹

In the midst of all these troubles Lawrence G. Murphy, one of the men most responsible for their existence, was called before the tribunal which passes final judgment on a man's deeds. Broken in health and in power, the former dictator of Lincoln County died of "general debility" at Santa Fe on October 20, 1878.³⁰ Unfortunately, his death did nothing to calm the storm which his life had raised.

President Hayes had issued the following:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, it is provided in the laws of the United States, that whenever by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States, it shall become impracticable in the judgment of the President to enforce by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the

Chisum a few years earlier. For the background of this settlement see Philip J. Rasch, "The Pecos War," in press, *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*.

27. *Las Vegas Gazette*, Aug. 17, 1878; quoted in *Cimarron News and Press*, Sept. 29, 1878.

28. N. A. M. Dudley to Act. Asst. Adj. General, District of New Mexico, Oct. 19, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

29. Daniel Dow, Robert Steward and August Kline to Commander at Fort Stanton, Oct. 1, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

30. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Oct. 26, 1878.

United States within any state or locality, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of any or all the states, and to employ such parts of the land and naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, or to suppress such rebellion in whatever state or territory thereof the laws of the United States may be forcibly opposed or the execution thereof forcibly obstructed; and

Whereas it has been made to appear to me, that by reason of unlawful combinations and assemblages of persons to arms, it has become impracticable to enforce by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings the laws of the United States within the Territory of New Mexico, and especially within Lincoln county thereof, and that the laws of the United States have been therein forcibly opposed, and the execution thereof forcibly resisted; and

Whereas, the laws of the United States require that whenever it may be necessary in the judgment of the President to use the military force for the purpose of enforcing the faithful execution of the laws of the United States he shall forthwith by proclamation command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time. Now therefore, I, RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States, and especially of the Territory of New Mexico, against aiding, countenancing, abetting or taking part in such unlawful proceedings, and I do hereby warn all persons engaged in or connected with such obstruction of the laws to disperse and return peaceably to their respective abodes on or before noon of the thirteenth day of October, instant.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington this seventh day of October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and third.

The next day Secretary of War George W. McCrary issued a General Order instructing the General Commanding the Military Department of the Missouri to inform the proper military officer that after the 13th of October he would disperse by force all unlawful combinations or assemblages within the Territory.³¹

Wallace at once advised Secretary of State W. M. Evarts that "I shall go down to Lincoln immediately that I can get

81. Geo. W. McCrary to Wm. T. Sherman, Oct. 8, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

conveyance and escort the better to report the effect of the Proclamation and the manner in which it is observed."³² Before he could start it was rumored that Juan Patron's gang had shot two men and hung another somewhere between Lloyd's Station and Fort Sumner.³³ Sixty-five horses belonging to a group of Jicarilla Apaches under the care of Agent Jack Long camped on the Reservation less than a mile from Fort Stanton were run off on October 12. A week later five thousand sheep were stolen from the grazing region just north of Lincoln; the three Mexican herders were believed to have been killed.

Wallace seems to have been acting on the assumption that if left to themselves the people of Lincoln County would reach a peaceful solution of their problems. Now his patience was exhausted. In placing the situation before Schurz he stated:

My judgment is that to refer the matter to the civil authorities is childish. Read again what Judge Bristol said about juries in Lincoln county, observe the petition of officers of the county given above. So, too, putting the military at my order or that of Sheriffs is but a half way measure. We cannot act without process; while courts must sit surrounded by bayonets, and juries deliberate in dread of assassination. In fact there is nothing to be done but make war upon the murderous hands. When prisoners are taken, let them be sent before a military commission, appointed to sit continuously at Fort Stanton. In other words, martial law for the counties Lincoln and Dona Ana. The proclamation in quickest time possible.³⁴

Apparently Schurz disapproved of this request, for on October 26 the governor asked Hatch for military assistance in maintaining law and order in Lincoln and Doña Ana Counties.³⁵ Hatch at once instructed Dudley to furnish assistance to the U. S. Marshal and Territorial Sheriffs and deputies in making arrests upon proper writs, in pursuing thieves and in

32. Lew Wallace to W. M. Evarts, Oct. 9, 1878. Record Group 59, General Records of the Department of State, Miscellaneous Letters.

33. N. A. M. Dudley to Act. Asst. Adjt. General, District of New Mexico, Oct. 10, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

34. Lew Wallace to C. Schurz, Oct. 14, 1878. The William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

35. Lew Wallace to Edward Hatch, Oct. 26, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

protecting the mails.³⁶ Reinforced by additional troops from Fort Union, Dudley ordered the detachment at Tulerosa, under Lieutenant Millard F. Goodwin, to cooperate with the authorities in that area,³⁷ and sent a detachment under Captain Carroll to take station at Roswell for the protection of the citizens there.³⁸ Goodwin was ordered to maintain patrols along the highway between South Fork, La Luz and Dog Canyon, Carroll was instructed to divide his command, part to patrol the road between Roswell and Fort Sumner; part the road between Roswell and Seven Rivers.

The President's Proclamation and the action of the troops seem to have had the effect of causing many of the depredators to leave the territory, although Guadalupe Grejada made an affidavit that John Jones, Thomas Johnson and one Calamo, heading for Texas with a party of some fifteen other men, had paused long enough to kill three Mexicans and seize their wagons and horses.³⁹

For a few weeks, however, things remained generally quiet. Wallace, perhaps overly anxious to claim success in pacifying the county, then issued a proclamation of his own:

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR

For the information of the people of the United States, and of the citizens of New Mexico in especial, the undersigned announces that the disorders lately prevalent in Lincoln County in said Territory, have been happily brought to an end. Persons having business and property interests therein, and who are themselves peaceably disposed, may go to and from that County without hinderance or molestation. Individuals resident there, but who have been driven away, or who, from choice, sought safety elsewhere, are invited to return, under assurance that ample measures have been taken, and are now and will be continued in force, to make them secure in person and property. And that the people of Lincoln County may be

36. John S. Loud to Commanding Officer, Fort Stanton, Oct. 27, 1878. Exhibit No. 1, Vol. No. 3, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59, Head Quarters, Department of the Missouri, March 28, 1879. National Archives.

37. N. A. M. Dudley to M. F. Goodwin, Nov. 3, 1878. Exhibit No. 3, Vol. No. 3, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

38. S. S. Pague, Special Orders No. 130, Nov. 4, 1878. Exhibit No. 2, Vol. No. 3, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

39. M. P. Corbett to Judge Blacker, Nov. 9, 1878. *State of Texas Adjutant General's Reports, 1870-1881*, pp. 6-8.

helped more speedily to the management of their civil affairs, as contemplated by law, and to induce them to lay aside forever the divisions and tends which, by national notoriety, have been so prejudicial to their locality and the whole Territory, the undersigned, by virtue of authority in him vested, further proclaims a general pardon for misdemeanors and offenses committed in the said County of Lincoln against the laws of the said Territory in connection with the aforesaid disorders, between the first day of February, 1878, and the date of this proclamation.

And it is expressly understood that the foregoing pardon is upon the conditions and limitations following:

It shall not apply except to officers of the United States Army stationed in the said County during the said disorders, and to persons who, at the time of the commission of the offense or misdemeanor of which they may be accused, were, with good intent, resident citizens of the said Territory, and who shall have hereafter kept the peace, and conducted themselves in all respects as becoming good citizens.

Neither shall it be pleaded by any person in bar of conviction under indictment now found and returned for any such crimes or misdemeanors, nor operate the release of any party undergoing pains and penalties consequent upon sentence heretofore had for any crime or misdemeanor.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Territory of New Mexico to be affixed.

Done at the city of Santa Fe, this 13th day of November, A. D. 1878.

To Schurz he wrote: "The trouble is ended now"; of Evarts he enquired, "Do you not think me entitled to a promotion?"⁴⁰

The Army had found their duty of assisting the peace officers both delicate and distasteful. In addition Dudley was anxious to start training his men for the trouble which he foresaw would soon commence with the Apaches. He promptly asked his superior whether the governor's proclamation was sufficient authority for him to suspend action,⁴¹ but warned that it had had the effect of bringing back into the county some noted outlaws, including Jim French and Josiah G. "Doc" Scurlock,⁴² and that Sheriff George W. Pep-

40. Quoted in McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

41. N. A. M. Dudley to Asst. Adjt. General, District of New Mexico, Dec. 6, 1878. Exhibit No. 7, Vol. No. 3, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59

42. N. A. M. Dudley to Acting Assistant Adjt. General, District of New Mexico, Nov. 30, 1878. Exhibit No. 23, Vol. No. 1, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

pin and his deputies did not consider it safe to leave Fort Stanton to make arrests without a military escort.⁴³

Almost simultaneously with the issuance of Wallace's proclamation a band of thieves stole part of Pat Coghlan's cattle from Three Rivers. They were pursued by Lieutenant Goodwin's force, who recovered part of the cattle and captured Jake Owens and H. J. Bassett, both of whom claimed to have been cowboys for John Riley, Frank Wheeler, John W. Irving, and H. J. Moore.⁴⁴ Coghlan, however, suddenly developed a convenient illness and was unable to appear to testify against them when the case was called before Justice John B. Wilson. Catron's brother-in-law and local representative, Edgar A. Walz, however, presented himself before the court and volunteered the information that Coghlan had informed him that he had not lost a single head of cattle! The prisoners were perforce turned loose. That same afternoon a Mexican was killed about a mile from the Fritz home.⁴⁵ A few days later the bodies of Irving and Moore were found near the White Sands. Who had shot them was never discovered.

Aggravating although these things may have been to Dudley, it is likely that he was more concerned over his own troubles with Mrs. Sue Ellen McSween's lawyer, a man named Chapman.

Huston I. Chapman was from Portland, Oregon. He had accidentally lost one arm in his youth, but being of a vigorous, aggressive nature had obtained a position as a civil engineer on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, specializing in bridge construction. He left the railroad in September, 1878, to open a law office in Las Vegas. Within a few weeks he was retained by the widow of Alexander McSween and adopted her cause with the burning zeal of a born fanatic.

In October Chapman had written to Governor Wallace that

43. N. A. M. Dudley to Acting Asst. Adjt. Gen. District of New Mexico, Dec. 7, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

44. N. A. M. Dudley to Acting Assist. Adjt. General, Nov. 23, 1878. Exhibit No. 5, Vol. No. 3, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

45. N. A. M. Dudley to Acting Assist. Adjt. General, Dec. 3, 1878. Exhibit No. 6, Vol. No. 3, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

I am in possession of facts which make Col Dudley criminally responsible for the killing of McSween, and he has threatened, in case Martial law was proclaimed that he would arrest Mrs. McSween and her friends immediately. Through fear of his threat Mrs. McSween left Lincoln and is now visiting here, until such time as she may with safety return to her home.⁴⁶

Wallace forwarded a copy of this letter to Colonel Hatch, with the comment that

Candidly speaking, the accusations therein against Col. Dudley strike me as incredible; at the same time, it is apparent that Mrs. McSween . . . is alarmed; wherefore . . . I respectfully request a special safeguard for her . . .

You will further oblige me by calling Col. Dudley's attention to this letter . . . the charges preferred by Mr. Chapman seriously affect his fitness for the very delicate duty.⁴⁷

Dudley's reply was anything but the retort courteous. He declined to comment on Chapman's charges, but sent Hatch eight affidavits, obtained from Saturnino Baca, George W. Peppin, Jack Long, John Priest, Francisco Gomez, Lieutenant G. W. Smith, Lieutenant Samuel S. Pague, and Assistant Surgeon D. M. Appel, attacking Mrs. McSween's veracity, principles and morals, requesting that they be laid before the Governor to demonstrate the character of the principal complainant against him.⁴⁸ Some of the material in these documents is of a nature which could not be printed here. In forwarding the papers to Wallace, Hatch commented that "The safeguard for Mrs. McSween is not, under the circumstances necessary."⁴⁹ In this decision Wallace concurred, and his request for a safeguard was withdrawn. Later he explained that his action was not due to the nature of the affidavits but because he was convinced that the precautions ordered by Hatch made special protection for her unnecessary.⁵⁰

46. H. I. Chapman to Lew Wallace, Oct. 24, 1878. Exhibit No. 4, Vol. No. 1, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

47. Lew Wallace to Edward Hatch, Oct. 28, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

48. N. A. M. Dudley to Actg. Asst. Adjt. General, Nov. 7, 1878 and Nov. 9, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

49. John S. Loud to Lew Wallace, Nov. 13, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

50. Testimony of Lewis Wallace, P. 9 Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

Chapman called on Wallace and over the governor's protests insisted that he would press charges against Dudley before the next meeting of the grand jury. After he left, Wallace drew out of his desk the preliminary version of his proclamation of pardon for the Lincoln County feudists and thoughtfully inserted the clause regarding Army officers, with the object of protecting them from harassment by Mrs. McSween and her lawyer. To Dudley he wrote, "I had a good reason for that by the way which I shall explain when I see you."⁵¹

Unfortunately for the governor's good intentions, in a long "Open Letter"⁵² Dudley, with the endorsement of his officers, rejected the pardon for himself and his command, contending that as they had committed no illegal acts they could not be pardoned, and severely criticized Wallace for his failure to visit Lincoln to investigate the five murders, the rapes, and the horse and cattle thefts that had recently taken place. Injudiciously, he referred to the "eight long affidavits" and characterized Mrs. McSween as "a notoriously bad woman."

Intemperate though his language was, his attitude could be attributed to the delicate sense of honor which military men have always professed. Wallace contented himself with writing the officers at Fort Stanton a mild note inviting them to call upon him so that he might show them that "the clause of which you complain was even more than a kindness to such of you as were on duty in Lincoln county during the disorders there,"⁵³ and informed Schurz that he was deliberately staying away from Lincoln in order to avoid provoking jealousy and bad feeling.⁵⁴

Perhaps Wallace's forbearance stemmed from the fact that only the previous week he had requested that Dudley be relieved from command of Fort Stanton, as "he has excited the animosity of parties in Lincoln County to such a degree

51. Lew Wallace to N. A. M. Dudley, Nov. 30, 1878. Exhibit No. 26, Vol. No. 1. Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

52. *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican*, Dec. 14, 1878; *Mesilla News*, Dec. 21, 1878.

53. Lew Wallace to N. A. M. Dudley *et al.*, Dec. 16, 1878. William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

54. Lew Wallace to C. Schurz, Dec. 21, 1878. William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

as to embarrass the administration of affairs in that locality."⁵⁵ Dudley's superiors, however, unanimously disapproved the request. General of the Army William T. Sherman noted in his endorsement that Dudley was not required to explain his public acts to the governor, but would promptly do so to his superiors if Wallace would prefer charges against him.⁵⁶

Chapman repeatedly addressed Wallace, insisting in increasingly abusive language that the governor must visit Lincoln in person. Dudley, he wrote, was "a whiskey barrel in the morning and a barrel of whiskey at night . . . his conduct has become a reproach to the military service of the country and an insult to every officer who tries to maintain the dignity of his position."⁵⁷ Failing to receive satisfaction from Wallace, he finally challenged him directly by organizing a mass meeting of the citizens of Lincoln on December 7

for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in regard to the outrages committed in this county, and to denounce the manner in which the people have been misrepresented and maligned; and also to adopt such measures as will inform the President of the United States as to the true state of affairs in Lincoln County.⁵⁸

To the governor himself, Chapman wrote contemptuously:

The people of Lincoln County are disgusted and tired of the neglect and indifference shown them by you, and next week they intend holding a mass-meeting to give expression to their sentiment, and unless you come here before that time you may expect to be severely denounced in language more forcible than polite. . . .

I am now preparing a statement of facts for publication, which, I am sorry to say will reflect upon you for not coming here in person, for no one can get a correct idea of the outrages

55. Lew Wallace to Edward Hatch, Dec. 7, 1878. P. 9 Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

56. W. T. Sherman to the Secretary of War, Dec. 26, 1878. Pp. 11-12 Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

57. H. I. Chapman to Lew Wallace, Nov. 25, 1878. Exhibit No. 24, Vol. No. 1, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

58. Quoted from copy of placard with N. A. M. Dudley to Acting Asst. Adjutant General, Dec. 9, 1878. File 1405, AGO, 1878.

that have [been] committed here by quietly sitting in Santa Fe and depending on drunken officers for information.⁵⁹

Fortunately for the peace and quiet of Lincoln, Chapman's meeting met with the disapproval of Isaac Ellis, Ben Ellis, Jose Montañó and others of the cooler heads among the McSween partisans. As a result it seems to have gone off without disturbance of any kind. Wallace jubilantly informed a reporter that when he

reached his post of duty he found the Territory in a state of anarchy and confusion. . . .

By systematic management, with the assistance of the national authorities, who placed at his disposal the United States troops stationed in the Territory, he has brought about a state of profound peace, and he says New Mexico is . . . free from turmoil and anarchy today. . . .⁶⁰

The Governor was soon to learn that he had committed a strategic blunder which a former major general should have avoided: he had fatally underestimated Chapman's ability to create trouble.

59. H. I. Chapman to Lew Wallace, Nov. 2, 1878. Exhibit No. 25, Vol. No. 1, Court of Inquiry convened by S. O. 59.

60. *Denver Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1879.

ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1866

By THOMAS A. MUZZALL*

The Command consisting of the 3rd U. S. Cavalry, commanded by Col. M. S. Howe, U. S. Army and the 57th U. S. Colored Infantry, commanded by Col. Paul Harwood, U. S. V., with a large train of waggons, all under the command of Col. M. S. Howe started from Fort Smith, Ark. enroute to Fort Union, N. M. on the 8th of June, 1866.

June 8—Crossed the Poteau River at 5 P.M. and camped on its banks to allow time for our train to cross it. Rained during the night.

June 9—Left camp about 10 A.M. and marched about 10 miles. This country is a beautiful one, the soil is splendid black loam, timber is plenteous and of good kind, water good and a plenty. The weather is very hot, so much so that the men fell out in great numbers, quite exhausted. One poor fellow died on my hands from sunstroke. Today we passed through Scullyville. This was a flourishing town before the War, but it is now in ruins. The land about us is owned by the Cherokee tribes, and is called on the maps "Indian Territory." They farm little and raise a great number of cattle, but they are a lazy, shiftless set. We have no road, our route lies between 34 and 36 degrees of Latitude.

June 10—Strike tents at 8 A.M. and march through a pretty country, the prairies look like a flower garden. I gathered some flowers and pressed them in a book. We marched about 18 miles and encamped in a small body of timber a half mile off the trail. About 200 men fell out today, the weather is so sultry.

June 11—Strike tents at 5 A.M. and march about 11 miles through a fine country, in fact the finest I ever saw. No men fell out today as it is cooler on account of a cool wind. We

* Copied March 6, 1956 by his Granddaughter, Gene Marquette Minium. "I copied it faithfully, his handwriting is as perfect as engraving, and altho' small, is a pleasure to read." Gene M. Minium, Springfield, Oregon.

[See biographical sketch of the diarist in *Notes and Documents*. Ed.]

crossed the San Bois River today and passed the Laureate range of mountains.

June 12—Strike tents at 7 A.M. and march about 14 miles, it has rained all day at intervals. The scenery is of the same character as of yesterday. The men are getting along fine. We cross the Santa Rita River.

June 13—Strike tents at 6 A.M. and march about 15 miles. We had to take to the mountain ridges today as the bottom lands are so wet from heavy rains that we cannot travel on them. The men have to work hard pulling the waggons through the mud for the poor mules pulled so hard that they could pull no more without rest.

June 14—Lay in camp today to rest the mules, it rained heavily all day. A courier went back so I sent a letter to my wife.

June 15—Strike tents at 1:30 P.M. and move a mile or two to a higher ridge, the men pulling the waggons through the mud for the mules can get no foothold, the ground is so soft. The men are giving out with this heavy labour of pulling loaded waggons through the mud. Two cases of hernia reported to me.

June 16—Start at 5 A.M. and move a mile or two and stop on a hill. The ground is too soft even for our saddle horses. I expect we will be compelled to wait a few days to give both men and beasts a little rest, and let the mud settle.

June 17—Remain in camp today as we are mud bound. I caught two tarantulas and a centipede and put them in alcohol to preserve them.

June 18—Still in camp mud bound. I had one man die today of pneumonia. Gaines Creek is ahead three miles but impassible. We must wait for it to go down.

June 19—Still in camp. Our waggons all caught up with us today, we have a great time drying out our baggage.

June 20—Strike tents and march about 12 miles, crossing Gaines Creek. The men had to wade, the current is very

swift. We are now only about 85 miles out of Fort Smith and are 12 days out. Now in higher country I think we will get along better. Fresh fish in abundance.

June 21—Strike tents at 5 A.M. March about 14 miles, crossed several creeks.

June 22—Strike tents at 6 A.M. March about 20 miles. Very fine country.

June 23—March at 8 A.M. for about 18 miles, cross Boggy River.

June 24—Lay in camp to allow the supply train to get up to us as it is far behind and has had a hard time getting along. Weather fine and scenery.

June 25—Marched at 5 A.M. Passed Talbert's Seminary, now in ruins the result of the War. Crossed Blue River, passed Brogan's Rancho. We marched 20 miles today.

June 26—Start at 5 A.M. and march 15 miles, we are getting near the Canadian River. It rained heavily today.

June 27—Start at 5 A.M. and march 17 miles, crossing headwaters of the Topofky River. We are traveling directly towards the Canadian River.

June 28—Remain in camp today to repair waggons and to get an Indian guide from a Caddo village a few miles from here. The water here is badly tainted with alkalie but the weather is fine.

June 29—Still in camp. Weather fine and cool. I caught some tarantulas, scorpions and two horn'ed toads.

June 30—Still in camp. The Washita River is not fordable on account of late rains. We were mustered for pay today. Got a Comanche Indian for guide. We have a plenty of Indians in camp, begging.

July 1—Still in camp. Washita too high for fording. Pass the day watching Indians.

July 2—Start at 5 A.M. and march about 35 miles, 20 miles of it without water. The weather is very hot today. We will

have to go around the head of the Washita and then on the great divide between it and the Canadian River.

July 3—Start at 5 A.M. March about 16 miles. The country is poor and water bad.

July 4—Start at 5 A.M. March about 4 miles to better water. We lay by for rest to celebrate the 4th. Weather very hot.

July 5—Start at 5 A.M. March about 16 miles. We ford Walnut Creek and get on the wrong trail through the obstinacy of Col. Howe. Our guide leaves us in consequence. Weather fine, country poor.

July 6—Start at 5 A.M. March about 15 miles. Some slight rain this forenoon. We march not more than ten miles in a direct course. Crossed many pretty streams. Bottom land very fine. Saw some buffalo carcasses today.

July 7—Start at 5 A.M. and march about 12 miles, some slight rain this forenoon. We camp on the Washita River. A large driving of cattle is following us for protection, they are going to Santa Fe, New Mexico to be sold.

July 8—Start at 5 A.M. and march about 18 miles, passing Stanwhait's (Stand Watie) old stand. He is a Seminole (Cherokee) Indian and was a Brig. Gen'l in the C.S.A. My old Regiment often fought his. (Pea Ridge Battle, Ark.)

July 9—Start at 5 A.M. and march about 12 miles. We camp at Fort Cobb. The Fort is in ruins, was built of red sand stone and sun dried bricks, there are some good bridges crossing the stream on which the Fort stands. It was evacuated upon the outbreak of the War.

July 10—Start at 5 A.M. and march about 22 miles and camp on the Washita River. We passed through a prairie-dog town today. Saw live buffalo and killed several rattle snakes, 5 to 6 feet long. I saved the rattles.

July 11—Another 5 A.M. start and march slowly on account of ravines which the Pioneers have to fix for us to cross. We march about 14 miles and see plenty of gypsum, which taints the water badly. The men killed some few buffalo. I had some of the meat for my supper. Too fresh for my taste.

July 12—Start at 6 A.M. marching 14 miles. Col. Harwood and his orderly are both out hunting buffalo. They had better look out or they will get lost. We camp close to a canyon; the Pioneers have a great task here to cut a road through the canyon. I shot at a prairie-dog today and missed him, but the windage of the ball knocked him over, and I caught him alive and unhurt. I shall try to make a pet of him. Col. Harwood and orderly have not returned to camp yet. We are getting alarmed for their safety.

July 13—Started late at 9 A.M. and marched about 12 miles. We have lost Col. Harwood and his orderly, they have not been seen since yesterday morning and some scouting parties were sent out to look for them.

July 14—Start early and march about 8 miles. Col. Howe has sent out six companies of Cavalry to hunt for Col. Harwood. I am afraid the Comanches have got him, if they have, it will be all day with him, for they will surely kill him. No buffaloes in sight today.

July 15—Start early and marched about 20 miles. The Cavalry have returned, they could find no trace of Col. Harwood. We will have to wait for Time to tell what became of him. I am sorry for him, he was a good officer and a gentleman. We saw large herds of buffalo today, and a part of a herd broke through our train, completely scalping one of the drivers. He will die. We camped near some strange looking large mounds this evening, they are composed of shells. I collected some for preservation.

July 16—Didnt start 'til noon and marched about 12 miles. The Regimental Quartermaster was placed under arrest by Col. Howe today for allowing his herders to steal horses from the Indians some weeks ago.

July 17—Remained in camp all day. The Cavalry took another hunt for Col. Harwood. We are camped on Epsom Creek. The water is horrible.

July 18—Start early and march about 28 miles. The country is a high dry plateau. We are again approaching the Canadian River. Saw a rainbow by starlight tonight. No news of Col. Harwood.

July 19—Another early start and march slowly, as both men and animals are suffering for water. We pass the Antelope Hills. There are six of them, very singular looking, four of them look like immense forts. They can be seen 10 miles off, they are composed of carboniferous sandstone. This morning some of the officers and myself discovered a solitary buffalo; we gave chase on foot and, surrounding him, drove him to the column where we killed him. I got his tongue. It looked ridiculous to see how respectful we were to his Majesty every time he turned to look at us, we would scamper off, and then we would follow him and boast of what we would do to him!

July 20—Start early and march about 20 miles and reach the Canadian. We find good water and grass but no wood.

July 21—Start early and march about 3 miles to Valley Creek; passable water, soil poor, plenty of sand, gypsum, ising glass, but sparse vegetation.

July 22—Start early and march about 20 miles along the banks of the Canadian. The weather is sultry and we suffer for water as the Canadian is so badly tainted with alkali that we cannot drink it. Today we passed a wagon capsized. It evidently belonged to some venturesome trader who had been murdered by the Indians as we found his scalped body and the bodies of two women, also mutilated a few steps from his wagon. We buried all. We are camped opposite the Natural Mounds.

July 23—Start early and march about 15 miles along the Canadian; our mules are dying very fast, many men desperately ill. The weather is so hot, grass is poor, and the water so alkaline.

July 24—Start early, march 15 miles along the Canadian, passed a beautiful spring.

July 25—Start early, march about 15 miles, camp in a valley surrounded by mounds formed of small round stone, similar to those found on a sea beach. The air is dry and pure, water very nauseous, all vegetation dried up due to excessive heat.

July 26—Start at 3 P.M. and finally cross the Canadian, camp near a crossing at the foot of a very high bluff. I have a negro in my care, he is dying from general dropsy.

July 27—Remain in camp today. The poor negro died in the night, so today, Dr. Wright and I performed a post mortum. I caught a giant centipede today, he fought hard. We are nearing the "Fort Gibson and Santa Fe Road" and are about 240 miles from Fort Union.

July 28—Start early and march about 15 miles. We have good water. In a very sandy country with little or no grass, crossing 2 or 3 creeks with a few scattering bushes with grape vines on them. Brought up to date my list of men lost and where buried.

July 29—Start early and march about 15 miles. We have good water and grass tonight but no wood. We begin to see signs of civilization. We are nearing the great Santa Fe Road.

July 30—Start early and march about 22 miles and camp at an old Camp ground called Camp Jackson. We saw a great deal of mirage today. The men and animals are improving now since we get good water and grass. Today the soldiers and teamsters got to fighting, and I had several nasty wounds to dress.

July 31—Start early and march about 11 miles and camp on a well timbered stream. It rained all night, the country is improving.

August 1—Start early and march about 22 miles, encamp on a beautiful stream with a plenty of fish in it.

August 2—Start early and march about 25 miles. We pass a very large tree, completely petrified, it was miles off on the prairie and not a tree or shrub in sight. We are camped near a big spring.

August 3—Start early and march about 12 miles to what is said to be Utah Creek, a large swift running stream, well timbered. Saw a great deal of iron blossoms indicating a plenty of that metal in the soil.

August 4—Start early and march about 17 miles and encamp on the same stream as last night and find that it is the Canadian River. Utah Creek is three miles ahead. This country is very mountainous. "Anton Chico" peak is in sight. We are now in the Rocky Mountain Range.

August 5—Start early and march about 18 miles, crossing the Canadian, it is here called Rio Colorado, or Red river. We reach Fort Bascom, this is a new Fort built since the War commenced. It is built of adobe, which is a kind of sun-dried brick. The Fort is on the south side of the Colorado river.

August 6—Start early and march about 14 miles over a rough country, we are in the mountains and they are covered with a scrub cedar. Water good. "Wagon Mound" is in sight.

August 7—Start early and march about 14 miles over a mountain road which is awful rough, but at least a road. At night after camping, I ascended a very high hill close to camp, it is over 300 foot high, straight up.

August 8—Start early and march about 15 miles. We encamp at the foot of an immense peak, I ascended it, after great exertion. I was rewarded by the beautiful, I might say, glorious, view I obtained. I could see the snow-clad peaks which were towering far above me. Cactus were here growing from 7 to 8 ft. high.

August 9—Start early and march about 16 miles and encamp on the same stream as for the last two or three nights. We pass two "Ranches," and thousands of sheep, goats and cattle. The people here are too lazy to milk the cows. They have thousands running wild and they buy their butter, "Monti-kee-ya" from the traders and have to pay from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per pound for it.

August 10—Start early and march about 12 miles. Close to camp is a large corn field, we buy a few ears of corn at 16 2/3rds ¢ per ear. Chickens at \$2.00 each and eggs at 25¢ each. The Mexicans know how to charge.

August 11—Start early and march about 20 miles through a canyon all the way. We camp on the top of a hill, the road up

the hill is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long and is at an angle of about 35 degrees. Our teams will be all night getting up the hill. It is raining heavily, but I am in a small cave, so I don't fear the rain.

August 12—Start at 10 A.M. and march about 18 miles across a high plateau and camp in a Mexican village. We caught a slight glimpse of Fort Union. The Cavalry, with Col. Howe have gone on to the Fort tonight.

August 13—Start early and march about 10 miles, passing Kroenig's Rancho. This is one of the Santa Fe Stage Stations. Here we saw large fields of wheat and oats. At 11 A.M. we reached Fort Union. We will probably be here for a few days and then be sent off to some petty mountain Fort. Kit Carson is here, also Major Gen. Pope and Bvt. Brig. Gen'l Carleton. I found some letters from home awaiting me here. I answered them this morning.

August 14—to the 20th—In Camp, doing nothing worth recording.

August 21—This morning we were all agreeably surprised to see Col. Harwood come walking in to Camp. He had escaped from the Indians and made his way by Fort Smith and Little Rock Ark. to St. Louis, Mo., from there to Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and then by stage to this place. We were very glad to see him. He took command of the Regiment. We have received orders to scatter to different Posts. Two companies with Regt. Headquarters and the Col. and myself, are to go to Fort Stanton in the White Mountains in New Mexico, among the Apache Indians.

*MEMORANDA OF TRIP FROM FT. UNION TO FT.
STANTON, N.M., via BOSQUE REDONDO.*

August 22—Start early and march about 12 miles. We have a splendid outfit. I have a nice ambulance to ride in and a waggon for my baggage. The weather is cool and pleasant. We turn our faces to the South now.

August 23—Start early and march about 18 miles, reaching Las Vegas. This town our first town since leaving Ft. Smith. It is prettily situated on a swift running stream called the Rio Gueyena, which means "Chicken River." Just as we got our tents pitched a Mexican came to get me to go and see a Mexican who had just dropped dead while mowing. Dr. W. and I went to see him and found him quite dead and the Sheriff and two policemen were present. The "Alcade" of Las Vegas particularly requested us to open the man to see what caused his sudden death. Dr. W. felt somewhat indisposed, so the task fell on my shoulders. I performed the operation in the presence of the Alcade and the City officials and found the man had died from the bursting of an aneurysm of the aorta, at the point where it first leaves the heart. I found a hole big enough to admit two fingers easily. The river is so high here that we will have to lay by until it goes down a little.

August 24—Remain in camp. Dr. Wright tried to cross the river and got his buggy smashed to pieces and nearly drowned himself. There are some splendid Mineral Springs here.

August 25—Crossed the Gueyena river today with a great deal of difficulty. We lost one mule in crossing. We camped in the evening and I went with the officers to a Fandango in Old Town.

August 26—Start early and march about 18 miles to Apache Springs. Rained all day. This is a dismal looking country.

August 27—Start early and march about 16 miles to a swift stream. General Sykes with a part of the 5th Infantry are near us, water-bound. Barren place.

August 28—Start at 7 A.M. and march about 20 miles, crossing the Gueyena river again. Gen'l Sykes and command are one mile ahead.

August 29—Start early and march about 9 miles, then stop to allow our train to catch up. They stopped behind to find some of the mules that had strayed. I went fishing and saw a large spring. It was about 100 yards wide and I tied three

long fishing lines together, and then could not touch the bottom. I also killed a very large rattlesnake. The country is improving.

August 30—Start early and march about 19 miles, passing several Ranches kept by Americans. The soil is very productive, yielding 50 bushels of wheat or 60 bushels of corn to the acre. Potatoes will not grow here., they say because of the alkali in the soil. Butter is \$2.00 per lb., bacon is 40 cts. per lb., onions are \$1.00 per dozen, corn is 50 cts. per dozen ears, eggs are \$2.50 per dozen, and hay is \$50-to \$60. per ton.

August 31—Start early and march about 20 miles and camp at a Cavalry outpost of Fort Sumner which is 12 miles on from here. Weather hot, no wood.

Sept. 1—Start at 4 A.M. and reach Fort Sumner at 8 A.M. We camp about a half mile from the Fort. This Fort is built of adobe and has a farm of about 2400 acres; it's worked by the Navahoe Indians who are kept here to prevent them from doing any damage to the settlers. There are 7500 of these Indians here, all fed by the Govt. This Fort is on the Pecos River and is generally known as the "Bosque Redondo," which means round timber. The Pecos is so high that we will have to wait perhaps for a week for it to go down low enough for us to cross it. Weather close and sultry.

Sept. 2nd to the 5th. Lay in camp waiting for the Pecos to get low enough for fording. We have orders to kill all male Indians we may meet after leaving here, and to take the females prisoner but not to hurt them. I think we will move tomorrow. I sent some letters home. The weather is very hot.

Sept. 6—Start early and march about 12 miles. In crossing the Pecos this morning we had to unload our waggons and take the baggage over in a small boat and let the mules swim over with the waggons. We made the crossing safely and are now on what is called the Dry Horn Route, and we have near 80 miles with no water before us.

Sept. 7—Start early and march about 30 miles of forced march. Camp near a small hole containing a little surface

water which is horrible to taste. No wood, weather very hot, grass is good, country nearly level.

Sept. 8—Start early and make about 25 miles today. Camp in a deep canyon where we found a little water in a rock. The animals have had no water since day before yesterday and they will have to go without until tomorrow night. The “El Capitano Mountain” is in sight. Fort Stanton is on the other side of it, they tell me.

Sept. 9—Start early and march about 35 miles to a splendid mountain stream, refreshing to both men and animals. We camp near what is called Hopkin’s Ranche the Ranche was burned and Hopkins and his men were murdered here a short time ago by the Apache Indians. We are at the foot of El Capitano and Fort Stanton is only 25 miles from here. Weather cool.

Sept. 10—Start early and march 25 miles to Ft. Stanton. We reach the Fort by 3 P.M. and camp close to it. The Fort is now garrisoned by New Mexican troops but they will move out in a day or so and we will compose the garrison. The Ft. is on the south side of the Rio Bonito which is a most beautiful stream running from the Blanco Mts. This day’s camp is surrounded by mountains and I like it, the air is so pure. The Hospital Steward here will go away with the New Mexican troops. He gave me a Mexican hairless dog which I will take home if it lives and I live. I am making it a blanket out of my regimental cape.

Sept. 11—Remain in camp to rest. Tomorrow we will move into the Fort and the Mexicans will move out. This evening we are to have a Ball given in our honor by the Mexican officers. Very few Senoras and less Senioritas here.

Sept. 12—Moved into the Fort. I took charge of the Hospital, which is a miserable dirty hole, and my men have commenced cleaning it out.

Sept. 13—Finished cleaning the Hospital buildings and fixed me a room for my own comfort. My hairless dog proves a

docile companion. The days pass so much alike in a Fort that I wont record any more while here.

Sept. 24—Ordered to go to Fort Leavenworth Ks. It will be too cold to keep a record, I'm afraid. Will go to Ft. Union tomorrow.

Oct. 29—We left Fort Union enroute to Fort Leavenworth and arrived at Fort leavenworth after making a march of about 790 miles in 31 days of actual marching. We were snowed-in two days on the Arkansas River and were also forced to way-lay over at Fort Riley for two days.

The Regiment is to be mustered out of service immediately, and I have a furlough of 30 days allowed me to visit my home and family in Ross Station, Indiana.

Exuent Omnes,

THE APUNTES OF FATHER J. B. RALLIERE

BY FLORENCE HAWLEY ELLIS AND EDWIN BACA

(Concluded)

DOCUMENT OF THE CHURCH OF TOMÉ AND ITS CEMETERY

The problem of ownership of the Campo Santo in front of the church of Tomé — whether by church or by grantees and their heirs — arose in part as a result of the question of control of burial plots, after the Otero-Ralliere battle. But, in general, the difficulty was a product of the times rather than primarily a clash between pastor and parishioners. Father Ralliere comes to this bitter struggle in the last section of his notes.

The *campo santo* always had been considered as of the church. In a paragraph appended at the end of the document covering the original Grant of Tomé,²⁰ mention is made of the square of thirty varas on which houses were to be built, and the break in the east side of the square where a church and dwelling for the Father Minister were to stand. By 1760 "A decent church has already been built . . . with a transept and three altars . . . dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. There is a house for the parish priest who is the one of the Villa of Albuquerque."²¹ In the pre-American days of New Mexico, possession of a written title to this land was not felt necessary by the Church. Many of the people of the state had lost or never had had a title to the lands which in fact were their own private property. Occupation rather than papers constituted ownership.

But times and conditions changed. People who came in after the American occupation wanted land, and many were less than scrupulous about their means of obtaining it. In some cases the acquisition came through legal if not ethical background. Land was traded for a barrel of whisky, acquired through forged title, or purchased for a fraction of its worth. The United States had agreed to honor all old land

20. Archives of New Mexico, No. 956 (Unpublished portion).

21. Eleanor B. Adams, "Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico," *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, vol. 28, no. 3 (1954), p. 201.

titles which could be proved to have existed at the time of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. But when the time came for examination of those titles, some "grant lands" appeared to be without grants. Others were found to have been conferred more than once, in different periods by different magistrates to different families. Sometimes they had been sold, subsequently, by heirs of both grantees! When titles were lost, the area concerned was open to new occupants. Soon the Spanish-speaking populace awoke to find that much of their land had disappeared, through one mechanism or another, into the hands of Anglo-Americans and other Spanish-Americans intent on making the most of this period of transition and confusion. They discovered that having a *paper* to a piece of land was the important point, and — sore from losses — became suspicious of everyone.

Before this period no one had worried about whether the Church as a legal entity ought to have actual written title to the lands set aside in the old grant for its use. Under the new regime, some of the churchmen felt that such a paper of title properly should exist and they advised Father Ralliere to suggest that the Archbishop ask the Board of Trustees for it. The Archbishop did so. The Board considered the matter and, with one exception, all the members voted to give the deed. The problem was temporarily tabled, probably because of the single dissenting vote. Unfortunately, just at this time certain of the Tomé parishioners, land conscious, chanced to be annoyed because several members of Ralliere's large household recently had married and Ralliere had given them gifts of acreages purchased by himself from the descendants of grantees. Moreover, one of these household members was unpopular *per se* in the community because he was the official collector of first fruits due from each parishioner to the church — and on occasion was known to have appropriated a bagful of wheat to spend on drinks for himself before he reached home! Hearing that the Trustees might give acquiescence to placing the title of church lands in the official ownership of the Church, a small group of the disgruntled Spanish-Americans rushed to defend their "rights" against all "foreigners," making but slightly veiled

insinuations that the Church might be looking to something which would make for profit, refusing to "sell their dead" — in giving title to the cemetery —, and even verbally accusing Father Ralliere as a "landlord."

The matter was argued with emotion. Finally a paper actually was drawn up and sent to Archbishop Pitaval, but it was far from what the Church felt proper and the language in which the Archbishop rejected it is reported to have been more emphatic than clerical. There were other meetings, letters, arguments. Father Ralliere suffered, taking too personally an event which was not primarily of his own making.

The eventual outcome was a paper of title drawn on lines close to, if not exactly duplicating, those originally suggested by the Church. By this the Trustees gave title to the ground upon which the church stood; the land between church and highway, where subsidiary buildings, including the parsonage, had been erected in 1872; the *campo santo* in front of the church; and the plaza. The road surrounding the plaza and known as *El Calvario* (the scene of the Holy Week processions relating to Christ's crucifixion) likewise was named in this deed, but because the county since has worked upon this road it now is considered a public highway.

The church had wanted the land of the other *campo santo*, a larger cemetery marked with a myriad of tall wooden crosses, located on the road to the big spring, Ojuelos, at the opening of Comanche Canyon. This land was not named in the deed, and the question of exact ownership of the plot since has come up as a technicality pertaining to whether it is open for burial of any Catholic or must be reserved for the bodies of descendants of original grant-holders.

Father Ralliere began his account of these events on August 7, 1909, and continued his chronicle as new points arose. In his *Documento de la Iglesia de Tomé y Campo Santo* he is as honestly outspoken as in his youth, but the pain with which the seventy-seven year old pastor viewed the lack of complete faith of the villagers in Mother Church and her representatives is apparent.]

In January, 1909, I made it known to Archbishop Pitaval

that there existed no document [deed to church-used land]. He in turn told Don Jesus C. Sanchez, member of the legislature, to see that it be made and given. On the first Saturday of April, the eve of Palm Sunday, there was a meeting of the Board of Trustees: Jesus C. Sanchez, Ramon Chavez, Daniel Lucero, Teofilo Baca, Matias Romero, José Martin Gallegos, Elias Romero, Antonio Moya, Feliciano Montaña. This was the third day of April. I did not go to the meeting, knowing that they did not want to give the deed — neither the people nor the Trustees —. But I wrote a note. I simply could not close the church during Holy Week.²²

In the next regular meeting on the first Saturday of July (July 3) nothing was arranged. At an extraordinary session held at my school on the 7th of July Pablo Rubi²³ presented a protest against [the church petition for a deed], signed by 132 names. On the 19th of June at the Jubilee of St. Michael's College the Archbishop gave me a letter advising me not to become involved in this business — to end my days in peace.²⁴ But it was already too late. When it became obvious that war was declared, I had no recourse but to close the church on Saturday, July 10, at which time I took out the Most Blessed Sacrament with hymns and mass for the dead, since then continuing to say mass in my schoolhouse. The Archbishop had written to me on the third day of May: Tell them that if they do not obey I can not permit a pastor to reside there nor can they use for religious services the property of others.

22. If he did not actually witness the opposition of the parishioners to giving the deed, he could legitimately postpone carrying out the threat he contemplated—closing the church—until after Holy Week. Although his fight was upon a point of conscience, conscience would not permit such an extreme move.

23. Pablo Rubi was one of the first graduates of Father Ralliere's personally conducted school and went out from it to teach in Valencia County. Father Ralliere, as Supt. of Schools for the County, became so incensed because no funds could be obtained to pay these teachers—even after they had taught for some months—that he resigned his superintendency. Lack of funds to cash the teachers' vouchers was state wide, as recounted by Sister Blandina Segale in *The End of the Santa Fe Trail*, 1948, pp. 259-60.

24. The Archbishop knew that Father Ralliere was not of a temperament to phlegmatically watch a battle but probably hoped that by encouragement of a side-line role he might possibly save the elderly pastor from grief and exhaustion. Although Ralliere had first called attention to lack of actual church ownership of the Tomé church lands, the call for the deed had come from the Archbishop, not from the local pastor, but the latter was too outraged by the refusal of people whom he had so long served to stand aside and await the outcome. The schoolhouse where he said mass during this period was one he had built and where he had kept school himself for the benefit of the community before—and after—public schools were available.

Pablo Rubi with Anastacio Montoya, Miguel Chavez, Camilo Barela, Juan Vallejos, Jesus M. Maldonado, Teofilo Aragon, as agents of the town, wrote to the Archbishop, who sent a long letter, July 13, to the town (people) reproaching them for ingratitude and approving that which I had done. Pablo Rubi never read this to the people.

On the 6th day of August Pablo Rubi called the people together. I sent for Father Picard and Father Docher.²⁵ There were about 200 persons in the meeting and upon the motion of José Baca they selected Pablo Rubi, Antonio Montoya and Bernardino Cedillo to arrange the business of the document (draw up the deed). The president of the meeting was Ignacio Salazar, the secretary, Camilo Barela. Today is the 7th, Saturday, I am awaiting the result. I thought I would say mass here Sunday but I went to Peralta. They are mad because in Valencia I said I would sign against Salazar. [The next three words are illegible.]

Father Picard thought to obtain the document with [made out to include] the plaza. During the day of July 7 I presented to them the plan without the plaza and without the square [campo santo?] They do not want to sell their dead —.

On the 21st of August Pablo Rubi, Anastacio Montoya, Bernardino Cedillo, and Camila Barela came with a document giving the church the plaza. They did not want to sign a paper abrogating the protest. In the end they signed an allegation giving the document according to law should they or the Board of Trustees of the place have this power, and we embraced. Thus the [matter of] the list [signed protest] was concluded.

August 22 — mass in the church²⁶ (since July 2 I had not given mass there.) I said at mass that Pablo Rubi, etc. had sent the document to be signed. But I do not know that it [deed to the lands] will be given. [Two words illegible.] Before mass Pablo said that the Board of Trustees met on the 23rd to formulate the document. They were united and

25. Father Docher, stationed in the Isleta church, was Ralliere's closest ecclesiastical neighbor to the north. Father Picard was stationed in Belen.

26. In this paragraph and that following, French and Spanish are mingled. The final phrase "*ni crepir*" does not translate well in this place.

they decided to draw up the document if the others would sign it. Pablo has written me of their intention to sign on the 27th. But Ramon Chavez has made them afraid —. I had written to Fidel; the answer has arrived saying that there was nothing but for the Board of Trustees to ignore the deed of Pablo Rubi.

August 31. Pablo Rubi, B. Cedillo, A. Montoya, Ramon Chaves, Teolio Aragon, B. Cedillo did not come with my document. Before this they talked of the candles, bells, and public proclamations to announce a meeting for Monday September 6.

September 6. I do not want to go to hell.²⁷ If I could find some faces at this meeting . . . they would applaud the stupidities of Bernardino- of [name illegible] of T [illegible] and nothing of Jesus Sanchez. Pablo and Anastacio hoped to claim from their document some bells, candles.²⁸ They don't want any of my document. It was finished. How disgusting!

On Oct. 2 they gave me the document signed by Bernardino Cedillo, Pablo Rubi, Anastacio Montoya, approved by Jesus Sanchez and Daniel Lucero.

[The protest presented to the Fide Comisars or Board of Trustees by the group aroused through the efforts of Pablo Rubi was signed by 132 of the Tomé people who claimed land in the grant — although eighteen reconsidered and removed their names. The paper appears, copied in Father Ralliere's handwriting, as a part of his record on the unhappy subject.]

PROTEST

Tomé, N. M. July 3, 1909. Before the Board of Trustees of the Tomé land grant, we the undersigned, all being owners of interest in the Tomé grant, have the honor to protest [present] the following protest against the giving of the parish and cemetery, and so we have acted in anticipation and we are prepared to make protocol a protest against the disposition of said properties and the reason for doing it this way is that those who know say that in the proximate term before this a petition was made proto-

27. Written in French and too dim, in part, to be legible.

28. As part of the clarification and separation between church and private property. Ralliere felt their primary consideration should be the church.

col to you asking the transference of said properties to the church and to Archbishop Pitaval. Although we know that at that time one of your votes was against this transfer and no resolution whatsoever was passed to dispose of said properties, nevertheless the petition was moved by you that this matter should remain in your good office for reconsideration at the present regular term. We do not know with what foundation nor with what reason [you intended reconsidering it] wherefore we are taking precautions that in one way or another our rights shall be advanced. And so we have come to make the following protest: In the first place we hold that said properties — as mentioned, improved and cultivated — are known to be properties belonging to the people of Tomé. Never have these been placed under the priest, and the government of the different Boards of Trustees — no matter of whom composed — has managed them just as any other type of common land.

That said property of parish and cemetery should be considered always in charge of the parish pastor until such time as the people should determine otherwise, and to relegate, even when it should be in your power, the right to dispose of these properties, we the undersigned do object. We make known our objection to the giving of said properties [to the church] and we sign here, from one to 132 — July 3, 1909.

[The names in *italics* are those who changed their mind after signing the document. In the manuscript they are crossed out]

Luis Ylicio²⁹
 Vicente Maldonado
 Jose Chavez
 Jose Baca y Barela
 Jesus M. Maldonado
 Nabor Maldonado
 Jesus M^a Sanchez
 Eduardo Sanchez
 Tomas B. Sanchez
 Henriques Sanchez
 Teofilo Aragon
 Anastasio Montoya

F^{co} Salazar 20
 Laureano Jaramillo
 Felis Chavez
 Doroteo Chavez
F^{co} Baca de Savedra
 [?] *Lucero*
 Adolfo Vallejos
 Candelario Salas
Juana Chavez de Baca
 Pablo Serna
 J^e Torrez
 Rafael Aragon

29. Some names written in full here are abbreviated in the ms.

- Antonio Salazar
 Mariano Turrieta
 Venseslao Chavez
 Macedonio Gurule
Piedad Campos
Manuel Baca
 Juan Lujan y Chavez
Rebecca Baca de Marquez
 Octaviano Baca
 Primitivo Baca
Eulalia B. Barela
 Juan Perea
 Ruperto Perea
 Ruperto Baca
 Eliseo Barela
 Antonio Baca y Campos
 Jose M. Zamora
 J^e Ignacio Chavira
 Tomaceno Gallego
 Dolores Chaves de Moya
 Norberta
Hipolite SAVEDRA
Juan Lucero
 F^{co} Vallejos
Diega Baca
 Dionisio Cedillo
 Jesus Chavez
 Juan Torres
 Teles Aragon
 Manuel Salazar y G.
 Santos Barela
Desiderio Baca
 Rosendo Jaramillo
 Juan Lujan y Sanchez
 M^A Sanchez
 Juan R. Salazar
 J^e Montañó
Jorge Lucero
 F^{co} Marquez
 Miguel Chavez
 F^{co} Rubi
 F^{co} Gurule
 David Grule
 Juliana Aragon de
 Ramon Gurule
 F^{co} Chavez y Benavidez
 Juan Vallejos
 Simon Marquez
 Matias Romero
 Vicente Barela
 Casimiro Barela
Jeronimo Rael
 Miguel Castillo
 Manuel Serna
 Fulgencio Jaramillo
 Clemente Romero
 Manuel Otero
 Pablo Rubi
Celestino Marquez
 Juan S. Baca
 J^e Moya
 Narciso Baca
 J^e Zamora
 A Romero
Doroteo Baca
 Teofilo Lujan
 Ramon Chavez y Lujan
 Feliciano Montañó
Trinidad Gabaldon
Eselsa Maez
Eliseo Romero
 Tranquilino Romero
 Jose La Paz Romero
 Casmiro Barela
 Juan Chavez y Romero
 F^{co} Padilla
 Benigno Chavez
 Esequiel Chavez
 Vicente Romero
 Alcario Lucero
 Jesus Vallejos
 Ant^o Sanchez
 Desiderio Sanchez
 Estanislao Chavez
 Agustin Villa
 Juan Otero
 Juan A. Marquez
 J^e Cedillo
 Eduvigen Marquez
 Benigno Gonzalez
 J^e C. Chavez
 Placido Montoya
 Adolfo Otero
 Benito Marquez
 Pitacio Padilla
 Ecelsa Ylicio
 J^e Lucero 2^o
 J^e M^o Lucero
Melcor Jaramillo
 F^{co} Barela
 J^e G. Barela
 Donaciano Ylicio
 Catalino Montañó
 Pedro Ylicio
 Juan Zamora
 Camilo Barela
 J^e A. Vallejos

[Archbishop Pitaval, perhaps hearing that the letter he had directed to the people of Tomé through Pablo Rubi, never had been given to them, wrote another, which Father Ralliere read aloud from the altar and copied into his personal notes. The Archbishop intended to chasten the rebels for their lack of loyalty to church and priest not only through expression of his official displeasure but also through threatening to remove parish headquarters from Tomé to Peralta, where a group led by the eighteen-year old wife of Remigio Chavez eagerly offered to feed and house the elderly *padre*. The problem of Tomé — as seen by its own villagers — was not concerned primarily with Father Ralliere but with distrust of the honesty and loyalty of the Church itself — towards them — now that it was in the hands of the conquering land-hungry Gringos. This term formerly was used by native villagers to cover all non-Spanish speaking people of the state but now has been replaced by the less derogatory word “Anglo”; both denote outsiders and reflect some suspicion but varying in degree. Father Ralliere, although primarily devoted to the welfare of his parishioners for so many years, always would remain a representative of the Church under the new regime, a problem with which Machebeuf had struggled painfully in Albuquerque, bailiwick of the rebellious and troublesome Mexican priest, Gallegos, whom Lamy had temporarily deposed.³⁰ Father Ralliere stood to gain nothing, personally, in the dispute over whom should hold title to the church-used land, but the fact that he threw himself into the dispute (contrary to orders of the Archbishop) provided food for suspicion to men whose distrust of all “foreigners” had been well nourished in the preceding fifty years.

The letter of the archbishop, presumably written originally with precision and care, appears with a few imperfections in the Ralliere copy]

Santa Fe, N. M., July 13, 1909
To the Faithful to Tomé, N. M.

Dear Brothers. With information given me by your pastor, Rev. J.B.R. I have come to understand very well the differ-

30. Howlett, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-194.

ence which exists between some of you and your pastor with respect to the title of the Church of Tomé and at the same time I have been informed of the determination of the Rev. pastor to resent that which you have done, not that the steps you have taken should have any injustice in law and the figures of law since with document or without the property of the Church of Tomé always will be of the Church and not of any individual or person or lost to you. Neither shall said property ever be sold by me nor by my successors, for the reason that the Catholic Churches, the Santos, etc. of a community, when they have not been purchased with private funds of the pastor, always are recognized as property of the Church and dedicated to the service of God and for the good of the community and the title of rights to the management and protection of same to the ordinary — or be it said — to the Bishop of the Church. The Board of Trustees will act as absolute guardian of the church. The Board of Trustees will assume the management, care, and protection of the property to the end of equal protection for all the members of the community and not with the object of placing it upon the market for speculation. Considering all these things, my dear Brothers, free of suspicions and with good intentions you can do no less than to admit that you have acted precipitately and without reason that would justify your conduct on the matter. Now with respect to the legitimate resentment of your legitimate pastor motivated by the insubordination and rebellion of yourselves, it rests upon me to tell you that neither he nor I ever expected demonstrations of hostility coming from you. The more so since there exist all the reasons in the world for you to treat your old pastor with more love and with the greatest respect possible, the more so for his advanced age, a matter which in itself should be sufficient to make you treat him as any respectable old man should be treated, but the more so considering the sacred duty imposed upon you by gratitude in the last days of your beloved father. All in unison should in justice try to sweeten with good conduct the little of life which is left to him instead of making more bitter his last journey. Is it good to thus return his good services? Has he not been a true father to you in spirit-

ual and in temporal things for more than 50 years? Ask yourselves this question — Why is Father R. so poor? Your conduct, my dear Brothers, would justify my action in changing the parish head from the plaza (village) of Tomé to another plaza (village) near Tomé but this I will not do out of consideration for Father R. whose many years and the best of his life have been spent working here as minister of God among yourselves, and also to give you the opportunity to reconsider your conduct and so that as good and obedient children you desist from acting as you have to your good pastor and at the same time I am hoping that in the coming time you will be reconciliated with the Rev. Father R. who no doubt will receive you as his sons and change his resolution of closing the church — all of which should he do it — understand — would receive my approbation as long as these matters do not return to a normal state. I await you. My paternal solicitude and my ardent wishes are that you will not persist in the error.

I subscribe myself to you

Attentively
ArB. J. B. Pitaval

[The stand of Paul Rubi against giving a deed of grant land to the church at this time was that of a patriot opposing foreigners, not that of an anti-Catholic opposing religion. But in the end he lost both cause and followers, and his opponents tell that after a few months he was struck with a great headache, his eyes burst, and he went blind. A year later his wife suffered a headache and one eye burst. Man and wife lived, however, to become famous as leaders of the *velarios* or wakes for the dead, and upon their own deaths their bodies were interred in the *campo santo* within the grant boundaries — which they had successfully managed to save from the church.

The only other Ralliere notes for 1909 are on a separate page, written much larger than anything preceding them, but in a strong clear hand. They are on two unrelated subjects, both briefly stated. The first, written in French] :

M^{ss} (word illegible) J. B. Pitaval consecrated July 25, 1902
 named archbishop January, 1909

Received the pallium August 18, 1909

[The second is in Spanish, an old memory of early days in Tomé]

On the day of Sept. 17, 1863 the Indians wounded us at Gregorio Salas [ranch?] in the [word misspelled or illegible] of Comanche Canyon. We were 28 in number between men, women, and children. I came ahead with Jose Baca to [the spring] Ojoelos to get the carriage from Don Manuel Chavez [whose ranch was there].

[Thus the *Apuntes* close. But in 1911 Benjamin M. Reed, the native Santa Fe Lawyer who made history of the state his avocation, wrote to Father Ralliere concerning certain churchmen of the early American period.³¹ This was the year of Ralliere's retirement. In two of Ralliere's answering letters, we see the aging father as peppery an individualist as ever]

Tomé 29 June 1911

Mr. Benjamin M. Reed

As much as I have been with Father Damaso Taladri [Taladrid — the Spanish priest who had worked in Africa, was met by Lamy in Rome, and brought over here by him] I do not remember his history. He was in Santa Fe Dec. 2, 1856 when I was ordained, after which he went to Taos. Later to Isleta where I found him when I went to Tomé, but he left after June 1858, I believe for Mora. Later he was chaplain for the volunteers [American army?].

The last time I saw him was in 1866. He was going to Las Cruces.

Father Taladrid must have come in 1854 when Monsigneur (M^{sl}?) Lamy went to Rome³² with Father Eulogio Ortiz.³³ It seems to me that he was a religious in a convent of Sicily. He spoke Italian well.

31. In his *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Santa Fe, 1912, Read refers to him as "the oldest priest of New Mexico" (p. 513).

32. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

33. In 1854 Rev. Eulogio Ortiz, a native New Mexican, received his priestly orders from Bishop Lamy after having studied in the Seminary of Durango. He was the first native New Mexican to make the trip to Rome.

I know more of the life of Father Picard³⁴ and of Father Palaco.

Later I will send a list of the different shipments of fathers [those who crossed the ocean together in coming to the United States], in their succession.

At your disposition —

J. B. Ralliere

[On back of page]

I have a list of all the priests who have died in New Mexico
A list of the transients (or fugitives) and deserters.

Tomé 18 August 1911

Mr. B. Read

You have asked me if in my list of the dead Fathers of New Mexico I have put Father Domergue.

I answer that my list is not complete, I did not know him, but at this time I believe that he went to Isleta, that he was very scrupulous and that he returned to France.

As for Father Juillard, He was very talkative, very useless, he rode a horse with his arms open (out from the body) like wings. He went to France and he returned.

He is on my list. He came with Father (Lamy) with Equillon,³⁵ etc. This Father Juillard was curate of Sandia. When here he was in charge and he was sent into tears because he saw the Indians bathing themselves entirely naked in the irrigation ditch. He was curate of Belen in the time of the disputes over the church. He was replaced by Father Paulet who expected to fight and succeed. After this Father Juillard was curate of Arroyo Hondo and when I came, he fitted me for a lieutenant (aid) but I did not like him for a curate.

Now no can take a bath in the acequia. There is no water.

34. Father Juan Picard.

35. Rev. Peter Equillon was the first to respond to Lamy's plea for clergy for New Mexico, on his first trip to France on this quest. Equillon remained in Santa Fe for a year to complete the training of some seminarians in theology as preparation for their ordination. Between 1855 and 1858 he was pastor of Socorro, after which he became parish priest of the cathedral and Vicar General of the diocese. He died in 1892.

Rev. Anthony Juillard was second to answer Lamy's call. Salpointe calls him "a zealous priest, who remained only a few years in the diocese owing to bad health, and returned to France, where he died in 1888." His opinion obviously did not agree with that of Ralliere. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

The Rio (Grand) is almost dry and it has not rained for a month.

[The page is left unfinished, apparently so that he could add more later if he chose. The next page — and there may be one missing in between — goes on with some comments upon Padre Fray Benigno Cardenas, a former priest, unfrocked in Mexico, who came to Tomé before Lamy and his workers came into New Mexico. Still wearing the garb of his order, he appeared as a missionary and enlisted the support and friendship of Nicolas Valencia who administered the parish of Belen. Their conduct so annoyed the priests of surrounding parishes that complaint was made to Vicar Ortiz in Santa Fe, who — when his warnings were not heeded — passed word of the trouble on to Bishop Zubiria of Durango. The latter came to New Mexico, excommunicated Cardenas, suspended Valencia from priestly duties, and had his edict read in the churches. Cardenas immediately announced himself a Protestant, and with the few followers who remained with him built a chapel in Valencia and conducted services which originally were of no sect. Soon the Methodists, who were beginning work in New Mexico about that time, accepted Cardenas and his group. Diatribes against the once-priest and the schism he created were published in Catholic circles, and tales of the behavior of this strange man continue in the Tomé area today. Father Ralliere had a few new bits of the strange tale to offer]

Cardenas seduced from the true doctrine (or perverted) in Peralta Jose Maria Chaves, alias Gabilon.

At the entrance of the Texans he did much harm to the neighbors of Don Juan Jose Sanchez; he took from them almost forty mules and he made them give something “to boot.”

But he left with the Texans in 1862. Thanks to God.

There are now some [a family of] Montoyas, protestants, who have a chapel and there are services from time to time.

A Methodist minister married a bride who lacked three months of 15 years. She confessed and I gave earthly pardon.

I accused also Thomas Harwood, Bishop of the Methodists, because he married a bride [from my church mem-

bers] two years and a day of fifteen years. They fined him. And God killed the boy who married her.

The history of Cardenas may interest you.

Here I speak of Estevan Zamora. I mean Estevan Zamora my sacristan for many years before he died eight years ago at 77. They put him in jail because he did not want to deliver the religious equipment for the daughter of Miguel Chavez of Tomé to be married to a Montoya of Peralta by Father Cardenas.

Father Salvador Personé gave a mission at Peralta in 1892 and he related the history of Father Cardenas and Barbarita, the housekeeper of Father Benito Cardenas, was listening. She had two daughters. [Horried by the story] she brought them and put them in a place of shelter in the United States. Their mother did not see them again.

[The remainder of the letter, long forgotten among old papers, is blotted with rain — the sentences thus missing so may words as to be illegible. But his conclusion is clear and strong, like the life which now lay mostly behind him]

Those who know say that when he [Lamy] visited the church he showed that he felt pleasure, free as in his own house. For a decade mine has been too formal.

He desired success like that in the life of Monsigneur Macheboef — he who brought me to this country.

The first time that I saw Monsigneur Lamy was in the Seminary of Mont Ferrand in 1854 and I hope to see him again soon.

I am going on 78 years of age.

J. B. Ralliere

Goodby

Notes and Documents

EDWARD D. TITTMANN

Edward D. Tittmann of Hillsboro, pioneer New Mexico attorney . . . died at his home Saturday after an illness. . . .

Mr. Tittmann, who was 84, served as a Sierra County delegate to the New Mexico state constitutional convention in 1910. He came to New Mexico in 1908 from New York, where he had practiced law and served as assistant to the financial editor on the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*.

A native of St. Louis, Tittmann attended school in Germany and received his law degree from George Washington Law School at Washington, D. C. From 1913 to 1915 he served as district attorney of New Mexico's seventh judicial district, and during 1917 and 1918 was an attorney for the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico.

Tittmann contributed many articles to newspapers and magazines in all parts of the country. He was a member of the Civil Liberties Union and served on its national committee.

He also served several years as a member of the Sierra County Board of Education. He fought successfully against an early attempt to move the Sierra County seat from Hillsboro to Cutter, and lost a later fight to move the county seat to Hot Springs, now Truth or Consequences.

Surviving are his widow; two sons, Edward, president of the Southern Peru Copper Co. of Lima, Peru, and John B. Tittmann, Albuquerque attorney; a daughter, Mrs. Sandy T. Greene of Prescott, Ariz., and seven grandchildren.

District Court activities here [Albuquerque] will be suspended from 3 to 5 p. m. tomorrow during Mr. Tittmann's services. *The Albuquerque Tribune*, February 11, 1957.

* * *

Thomas Abram Muzzall was born in Brighton, England, March 25, 1834, son of Thomas Woodward Muzzall and Mary Greenfield. He came to the U. S. in 1852 to Merrillville, Lake Co. Ind. where he taught school. In 1856 he went west and joined the Army of Jim Lane, "fighting the Border Ruffians and Bush Whackers in the Border War, helping make Kansas a free state. He carried the U. S. mail by Pony Express from 1860 to 1861, from Leavenworth to Ft. Kearny, Nebraska. One trip he went the whole route from Leavenworth to Salt Lake City, and was wounded in an encounter with the Indians, suffering a stroke from a tomahawk which cut a gash in his thigh from hip to knee. The scar of this wound was a very wide one, caused, he told, from the method used by the squaws at Fort Bridger, Wyo. in curing it. They propped open the cut, and chewed up herbs and spat them into the wound, fastened it shut with cactus thorns, then wrapped him in blankets, dug a

trench all around him on the ground and filled it with hot coals. He sweat so badly "that he thought his time had come," but was healed and continued his trip to Salt Lake with the mail. On his return to Kansas, he helped build the first house in Lawrence, Ks. and in late 1861 while hauling lumber from Kansas City, Mo. with a four horse team, he heard of Abe Lincoln's call for Volunteers. He left his team at the hitching rack and enlisted in Co. D 1st Mo. Volunteer Cavalry. Three months later after a skirmish, he bandaged and aided his comrades who were piled up in the corner of a stake-and-rider fence, so successfully that he was made a Hospital Steward. He was discharged on Jan. 1st, 1864, re-enlisted and served until 1867. His second enlistment was mostly served in Little Rock, Ark. at the large Federal Hospital which was a recuperative and rehabilitative Center for veterans. On discharge he returned to Indiana, married, and became Supt. of the Lake Co. Alms House. Here he put to good use his medical experience. He died Sept. 14, 1915 at Scott City, Kansas, where he is buried.

* * *

LINCOLN COUNTY CHRONOLOGY

(Continued)

Oct. Court in session at Lincoln.

Geo. Coe and Doc Scurlock in custody at Lincoln.

8 (Mon.) Billy ("Henry Antrim" says Silver City Correspondent of *Mesilla Independent*) and party steal three horses belonging to Col. Ledbetter, John Swishelm (John Chisum ? — RNM), and Mendoza, at Pass' coal camp in Burro Mts. and head east through Cook's canyon toward Mesilla.

9 (Tues.) Antrim party encounter Carpenter at Cook's canyon.

15 (Night) Tunstall reaches Lincoln from St. Louis, via. K. C., Trinidad, and Las Vegas.

17 Tunstall leaves Lincoln for Roswell with St. Louis goods for Chisum.

18 Tunstall encounters Brady posse with Evans and other prisoners.

20 Brewer returns to Lincoln with Brady posse, and immediately organizes a second posse (with help of McSween), arms them with Winchesters from Tunstall stock for pursuit of Casey cattle reported en route to Texas.

20 (Sat.) *Mesilla Independent* announces large store under construction in Lincoln by *McSween*.

20 (2 P.M.) Evans, Baker, etc., placed in Lincoln's "new \$3,000 jail."

23 (Sundown) Tunstall reaches Lincoln from Roswell, learns from Green Wilson that his Casey cattle are headed for Texas.

Nov. 16 Sheriff Brady places Lueillo Archuleta [Archuleta] in

- charge of prisoners, succeeding Juan Patrón, and guard of 6 men removed; prisoners walk out through unlocked door.
- Nov. 16 (circa) Katarino Romero, murderer of Prudencia Garcia, escapes at noon from Lincoln jail.
- Fall Jesse Evans escapes from Lincoln County jail.
- Nov.-Dec. Kid employed by Tunstall.
- Dec. James Chisum, daughter Sallie and his 2 sons arrive in N. M.
- Dec. 18 Mr. and Mrs. McSween and John Chisum leave Lincoln for St. Louis.
- 18 Jim Longwell hastens from Lincoln toward Mesilla to inform Dolan of McSween's departure.
- 21 At Mesilla, Dolan persuades Mrs. Scholand to make affidavit charging McSween with embezzlement.
- 22 Evans and party arrive in Mesilla en route to El Paso.
- 23 Longwell returns to Lincoln with news of Mrs. Scholand's affidavit.
- 28 (noon) Mr. McSween and John Chisum jailed in Las Vegas.
- 1878 Jan. 4 McSween taken from Las Vegas to Lincoln by Deputy Sheriff Barrier.
- 18 (Fri.) Tunstall writes fraud accusation to *Mesilla Independent*.
- 19 J. J. Dolan transfers holdings to Catron.
- Evans and 2 others steal horses at lower Mimbres.
- Evans shot through groin by posse, near Lloyd's ranch, but escapes.
- 23 Tunstall, Shield, J. B. Wilson, and McSween leave Lincoln for Mesilla to attend court, McSween being in charge of Deputy Barrier.
- 28 McSween party reaches Mesilla.
- 2 McSween hearing on Fritz insurance embezzlement charge commences at Mesilla.
- 4 (Mon.) McSween hearing transferred to Lincoln by Judge Bristol.
- 4 Dr. T. F. Ealy and party reach Las Vegas by stage en route to Lincoln.
- 5 Tunstall-McSween party leave Mesilla for Lincoln and make evening camp near Shedd's ranch at San Augustin Pass; there encounter Jesse Evans, George Baker, Jack Long.
- 6 (Wed.) (8-9 A.M.) J. J. Dolan attempts fight with Tunstall at Shedd's ranch.
- 7 (Thur.) Emilie Scholand and Charles Fritz attach McSween and Tunstall property.
- 9 (Sat.) Brady takes charge of all McSween property.
- 10 Tunstall, McSween and party reach Lincoln.
- 11 Deputies James Longwell, Geo. W. Peppin, John Long, Martin and Clark seize Tunstall store.
- 12 District Atty. W. L. Rynerson declines to approve McSween's bond.

- 12 Billy Matthews attempts to seize Rio Felix cattle ranch.
- 13 (Wed. A.M.) Ealy and party leave Las Vegas for Lincoln.
- 13 (late evening) Widenmann, Bonney and Waite leave Tunstall ranch for Lincoln.
- 14 James H. Farmer resigns and John B. Wilson becomes J. P., Precinct No. 1.
- 15 Bonney and Waite prevent Wortley from delivering meals to Longwell party on guard at Tunstall store; Billy is foiled in preparation to shoot Longwell; the latter refuses Billy's challenge to do battle.
- Feb. (Mid.) ("A few days before Tunstall's death") Capt. J. C. Lea reaches Roswell for first time and Widenmann's party invade Dolan store and repossess Tunstall store from Brady's posse.
- 16 Widenmann, Bonney and Waite return from Lincoln to Tunstall ranch. Dolan leaves Lincoln for neighborhood of Tunstall ranch.
- 17 (Sun.) 10 P.M. Tunstall reaches ranch.
- 18 (Mon.) 9 A.M. Tunstall and party leave ranch for Lincoln.
5:30 P.M. *TUNSTALL KILLED.*
- Early Evening Ealy party reached Ft. Stanton.
- 10 P.M. Widenmann and Bonney reach Lincoln and inform McSween of Tunstall's death.
- Before Midnight "40 or 50 citizens" gather at McSween's house pledging justice to Tunstall murderers.
- Riley visits McSween home and leaves town.
- 19 (Tues. Dawn) John Newcomb and party move 5 miles from Newcomb ranch to scene of killing, to recover Tunstall's body.
- 11 A.M. Dr. Ealy, wife, 2 daughters, and Miss Gates reach Lincoln.
- Late Afternoon Tunstall's body brought to Lincoln.
- Evening Justice Wilson and coroner's jury inspect body and report Tunstall had been killed by Dolan, Evans, etc.
- Late Evening Justice J. B. Wilson issues warrants for arrest (for murder) of Dolan, Evans, Morton, Baker, Corcoran, Gallegos, Wallace Ollinger, Buckshot Roberts, Hill, Geo. Davis, Bob Beckwith, Tom Green, Geo. Hindman, John Hurley, etc. to total of 18.
- 20 (Wed.) Post Surgeon Appel makes post mortem examination and embalms body of Tunstall.
- Constable Atanacio Martínez calls upon Bonney and Waite to assist in serving warrants on those located at Dolan store. Trio arrested by Brady; Martínez released same evening, Bonney and Waite released two days later.
- 21 (Thur.) Justice Wilson sustains McSween's charge that Tunstall feed taken illegally by Brady's guards at Tunstall store.
- 22 (Fri. 3 P.M.) Tunstall funeral. (According to McSween's testimony to Judge Angel Gonzales; Dr. Ealy says funeral was P.M. Thursday, Feb. 21; Mrs. Ealy says A.M. Thursday).

After funeral — citizens' indignation meeting demands Brady's explanation as to non-approval of McSween's bond and continued detention of Bonney, etc. Dolan leaves for Mesilla.

23 Widenmann, supported by detachment of soldiers under Lieut. Goodwin, repossesses Tunstall store and jails Longwell and party.

25 (Mon.) Justice Wilson dismisses charges against Longwell and party at hearing attended by Col. Purington and number of soldiers.

25 McSween executes will, witnessed by Ealy and 2 others.

27 Following advice of citizens' committee meeting held day or two previously, McSween leaves Lincoln to seek safety in hiding.

Mar. 1 Brewer deputized by J. B. Wilson.

1 McSween starts construction of high adobe wall about house.

1 (circa) Brady serves warrants on Widenmann and 15 others charging rioting in connection with Tunstall store affair and Justice Wilson binds them over to the Grand Jury.

— Mrs. McSween visits home in Kansas.

4 Will Dowlin and Dr. Appel visit Ealys at Lincoln.

6 (Wed.) Tunstall's killers, Morton and Baker captured.

8 Brewer's posse visits Chisum ranch with prisoners.

9 (Sat.) Gov. Axtell issues proclamation cancelling appointment of J. B. Wilson as J. P., naming only lawful authorities Judge Bristol and Sheriff Brady.

9 Tom Hill killed and Jesse Evans wounded in left arm (by Cherokee) attempting robbery at Alamo Springs near Tularosa. Evans later surrenders to Col. Purington at Fort Stanton.

MORTON & BAKER KILLED; McClosky killed.

(2 P.M.) McSween returns to Lincoln.

Gov. Axtell and Col. Purington reach Lincoln (Axtell's only visit).

10 (Sun.) Dolan breaks leg in Lincoln street. (Dr. Ealy reports that "one of the worst men in the country broke his leg while trying to shoot an unarmed man.")

11 (Mon.) McSween with Geo. Washington, Geo. Robinson, and A. P. Barrier leaves Lincoln for Pecos to avoid danger.

12 Jack Long, drunk, accosts Dr. Ealy on Lincoln street.

21 (Thur.) Widenmann returns to Lincoln.

26 Lt. Col. N. A. M. Dudley assumes command at Fort Stanton, succeeding Col. Purington.

(Late) McSween seeks safety at "one farm house and then another."

28 (Thur.) Kid tries to kill Matthews.

Brady and soldiers seek jurors at Chisum's ranch.

9 A.M. Shooting in Lincoln street.

29 Widenmann writes Carl Schurz, Secy. of the Interior that Steve Stanley returned last night from Indian Agency with another lot of goods and delivered it at the J. J. Dolan Store which is in hands of U. S. Dist. Att'y T. B. Catron.

29 (Fri.) Shooting in Lincoln street.

Capt. Smith arranges with Mrs. McSween for McSween to overtake the military party the following morning en route to Ft. Stanton, McSween to be afforded military protection and Brady not to serve the "alias" warrant.

31 McSweens, Chisum, Levenson and party leave Chisum ranch in buggy; delayed by rains; spend night 20 miles from Chisum's and 10 miles from Lincoln, at a ranch house.

31 (Sun. Noon) Sheriff's posse and detachment of Cavalry ride through Lincoln.

Or Apr. 16 civilians, members of Widenmann's February posse, arrested by Brady on charge of rioting. Bound over to Grand Jury by Squire Wilson.

Apr. — Corbet, Martínez, Robinson, and Washington plead not guilty to charge of rioting and Wilson grants change of venue to Doña Ana County. Others failed to appear for trial.

1 (circa) Roberts' encounter with Billy and Bowdre.

1 (10 A.M.) *BRADY AND GEORGE HINDMAN KILLED.*

1 (Noon) McSween, John Chisum, Dr. Levenson, Mr. Samson, et al., reach Lincoln from Pecos.

1 McSween arrested by Peppin and soldiers on "alias" warrant.

3 (Wed.) Mrs. McSween accompanies husband to Ft. Stanton; returns to Lincoln.

4 (Thur. 11 A.M.) *ROBERTS AND BREWER KILLED* at Blazer's Mill. (McNab succeeds Brewer as Leader)

5 (Fri.) News of Brewer killing reaches Lincoln.

8 (Mon.) John Copeland becomes Sheriff of Lincoln County.

Judge Warren Bristol issues warrant (for murder of Wm. Brady) against Widenmann (spelled Widenman and Weidenmann), Geo. Washington, Geo. Robinson and David P. Shields; orders John Copeland to serve warrant to bring parties to Judge's chambers at Ft. Stanton. Warrant certifies serving same day and delivering prisoners to Judge.

8 (Mon.) McSween, Shield, Widenmann, Washington, Robinson released from custody (re Brady killing); Widenmann and Shield remain at Ft. Stanton; the others return to Lincoln; warrant served on McSween for embezzlement.

10 (Wed.) John N. Copeland sworn in as sheriff. Scurlock loses deputy sheriff commission.

13 New Grand Jury empaneled, Lincoln. Judge Bristol commutes daily from Ft. Stanton.

?—Grand Jury indicts Jesse Evans, Frank Rivers (real name Jack Long), George Davis, and Manuel Segovio (known as "The Indian"), for Tunstall murder.

17 \$5000 reward offered by J. P. Tunstall through McSween for arrest and conviction of Tunstall's murderers.

18 (Thur.) Lincoln County Grand Jury indictment 234-4; Henry

Brown, William Bonney (Alias "Kid"), and John Middleton for killing of Brady.

20 Judge Bristol charges Grand Jury re McSween et al.

22 (Mon.) Lincoln County Grand Jury indicts Charles Bowdre for murder of Roberts, Dolan, Evans, etc. for cattle stealing, having refused to indict McSween.

23 Jas. J. Dolan & Co. publishes notice of "temporarily" suspending business.

24 District Court term ends, Lincoln.

Lincoln citizens' committee, friendly to McSween, pass resolutions thanking Dudley as only impartial commander of Ft. Stanton.

26 Ealys move from East wing of McSween house to East rooms of Tunstall building.

26 (Eve.) Messrs. Murphy, Dolan, and Riley seek refuge at Fort Stanton.

29 (P.M.) *McNAB KILLED*; Ab Saunders fatally wounded, Frank Coe captured by Peppin posse at Fritz ranch (en route to Lincoln). Scurlock succeeds McNab as leader.

30 (3 A.M.) Peppin posse surrounds *Ellis place* in Lincoln.

(Noon) Shooting in Lincoln street by same posse.

(3 P.M.) Longwell and "30 or 40" other Dolanites arrested near Ellis house by Lt. G. W. Smith and 15 soldiers acting on orders of Sheriff Copeland; taken to Fort Stanton, retaining their arms.

Apr. 30 to June 30 One officer (Capt. Henry Carroll), one Lieut. (M. F. Goodwin) with 24 men of Co. "F" "on field duty near Roswell."

May 1 James J. Dolan and John J. Riley formally announce dissolution of "Jas. J. Dolan & Co., Merchants" and Edgar Walz takes over. (Reported by Fountain on Apr. 27).

1 (Mid. ?) Raid on Dolan-Riley cow camp (now Catron's).

1 (Wed. Eve.) Soldiers arrest 20 (including McSween and Ellis) at Lincoln and take them to Fort Stanton.

3 Beckwith and 20 others charged with murder of McNab; warrant issued to Copeland by Justice Trujillo.

4 (Sat.) Longwell leaves Lincoln County.

6 Widenmann appointed administrator, Tunstall estate.

Those taken to Fort Stanton return to Lincoln.

En route to preliminary hearing at San Patricio, Lieuts. Smith and Goodwin, with 25 soldiers, force Copeland to arrest Scurlock, Widenmann, Scroggins, Gonzalez, two Ellis' at Lincoln; thence to San Patricio where McSween is arrested.

10 Murder warrant issued at Mesilla for William Bonney.

L. G. Murphy leaves Lincoln permanently.

11 All persons, including those arrested May 6, except Scurlock, released from Fort Stanton at Copeland's request. Scurlock conducted under guard to Lincoln.

14 Scurlock, Brown, Scroggins, Bowdre, Coe and 2 other Anglos with 11 native New Mexicans raid Riley's camp and take 27 horses belonging to Catron, and take Indian supposed to have participated in killing of Tunstall and McNab.

28 (Tues.) Gov. Axtell dismisses Copeland and appoints Peppin as sheriff.

28 (circa) Angel reaches Lincoln.

June 1 (circa) Tom O'Folliard reaches Lincoln County and joins Kid's party.

Shield Family reaches Lincoln.

— Peppin *appointed* Sheriff.

— Kid rescues Bowdre from Jesse Evans (claimed by Coe, etc.).

7 Capt. G. A. Purrington and Co. H ordered to Roswell.

15 Evans taken from Lincoln to Mesilla for trial; military escort.

17 (Mon.) Peppin reached Lincoln accompanied by soldiers, (27). Peppin, Sheriff and Deputy U. S. Marshal, swears in John Long and other deputies: José Chaves y Baca (Lincoln) and Buck Powell and Marion Turner (Roswell).

18 (Tues.) "All men" (pro McSween) leave Lincoln, including McSween and Juan Patrón, to hills near San Patricio, just ahead of the night arrival of Peppin and detachment of soldiers.

20 Twenty citizens join Dudley's detachment as Peppin's deputies.

22 John Kinney and 11 other gunfighters, sent by Rynerson at Catron's suggestion, reach Lincoln from Mesilla.

23 (Sun.) Marion Turner, Billy Mathews and other Dolan adherents attend church services at McSween home.

24 (Mon.) Angel interviews McSween — warns him to leave.

25 (Tues.) McSween returns to Lincoln.

Dudley informed Sect'y of War restricts further use of military aid to civilian authorities.

26 (Wed.) McSween leaves Lincoln.

27 Skirmish between parties led by Long and McSween near San Patricio. (Ealy says June 25).

Dudley who had declined to furnish men to Deputy Long's posse against San Patricio now dispatches Capt. Carroll with 25 men "to protect life and property." Carroll's and Long's forces pursue McSween party into mountains south of San Patricio; Dudley recalls Carroll and Long then withdraws.

29 Justice Wilson issues warrant for McSween re San Patricio fight.

Juan Patrón, in refuge at Post Traders' at Fort Stanton, is saved by Col. Cronin from death at hands of Deputy Reese of Peppin's posse.

July 1 (Mon.) Party leaves Lincoln to apprehend Copeland at his ranch.

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

Latin America; a History. By Alfred Barnaby Thomas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956. Pp. xiii, 801. \$6.50.

This textbook for college and university classes is the mature work of a scholar who has written several works of research and has devoted many years to instructing university classes in the subject.

The book's organization follows the more or less orthodox plan: (1) Colonial Latin America, 218 pages; (2) The Wars for Independence, 54 pages; (3) Modern Latin America, 422 pages; and (4) Inter-American Affairs, 24 pages. The remainder of the work consists of Bibliography and Index.

The reviewer finds no serious fault with the proportions of the book, though some textbook writers have devoted more space to the survey of Indian cultures than does Professor Thomas. After all, descendants of the native populations who developed those cultures form a great part of the population of some half of the Latin American nations. The Bibliography is one of the superior portions of the book; it is excellent both for its fullness and for its subject arrangement.

Though the maps included are helpful, one could wish for more than seven of them. A few well chosen illustrations would have added to the attractiveness of the book and the effectiveness of the text materials. Considerations of economy no doubt determined policy here.

The author's approach is admirable: it is both widely and positively liberal in its emphasis on democracy as desirable and on the whole optimistic as to its ultimate achievement. Mention of literary figures is the rule when their writings have been of significant influence. Nor is the artist forgotten; some two and a half pages (675-677) are devoted to discussing the work of Mexico's great ones in this field. Likewise, the author is careful to indicate the steps that have, in most of the countries, led the people gradually to a greater degree of democracy.

The attainment of absolute accuracy in a work of this character is, perhaps, an impossibility. The reader is left

with the impression that the "Christ of the Andes" faces Argentina (p. 290), while in actual fact — as the reviewer has noted with his own eyes — it faces northward, properly neutral as between the two former boundary disputants. Speaking of the four chief cities of Costa Rica's Meseta Central (p. 616), Professor Thomas asserts that they are situated "within a stone's throw" of one another. This may be regarded as a sort of "poet's license," because the two extreme cities (Alajuela and Cartago) lie twenty-five miles apart. On the same page he states that Costa Rica's volcanic range "in places rises as high as 6,000 feet," when actually its height is in the 10,000 feet range. Here and there other inaccurate statements can be found. They are, perhaps, unavoidable and detract only slightly from what is in the main an excellent textbook.

The language of the work, while it does not sparkle (indeed, few textbooks have sparkle), is yet workmanlike, clear, and to the point. One is never compelled to reread a sentence because it is so involved as not to present clear meaning. On the whole, this is a fine piece of work, and many teachers of the subject will in the future find reason to be grateful to Professor Thomas for performing the onerous task of producing it.

State University of New York,
State College for Teachers, Albany

WATT STEWART

When Grass Was King: Contributions to the Western Range Cattle Industry Study. By Maurice Fink, W. Turrentine Jackson, and Agnes Wright Spring. Boulder Colo.: University of Colorado Press, 1956. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 465. ✓

This well-designed and amply illustrated publication is a trilogy by prominent western historians about the range cattle industry as it existed in the heart of the plains grazing country between 1865 and 1895. The principal area studied is New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, and the Texas Panhandle. *When Grass Was King* was produced under the auspices of a Rockefeller Foundation grant administered by

the State Historical Society of Colorado. The study represents the first major economic work of its kind since Ernest Staples Osgood's *The Day of the Cattleman* (1929) and E. E. Dale's *Range Cattle Industry* (1930).

Part I is the work of Maurice Fink of the State Historical Society of Colorado and concerns itself with the founding, early development, and decline of the industry. The basic techniques of ranching were developed in a small way in the pre-Civil War Southwest. After the war nomadic herds were brought into the semi-arid treeless region of the northern plains and soon burgeoned into big business. The herds fanned out and thrived on the vast open range and men who had known poverty a few years before became cattle barons overnight. The bonanza was on as beef prices rose and profits compounded. Feed, land, labor, and housing were either free or dirt cheap, and as long as bulls felt the way they did about cows the herds showed no signs of diminishing.

The cattle industry followed various forms in its organizational structure, but to a great extent it was built upon borrowed capital and high interest. Taxes were negligible and in the early days the cattlemen were not bothered with nesters and sheepmen. The railroads gradually spread their network throughout the cattle kingdom, and allied industries sprang up rapidly. Within two decades the cattle industry evolved from a large scale adventure to almost complete collapse as ranges became overstocked and the market flooded. Then nature delivered the *coup de grace* in the form of droughts and blizzards. Eventually, reorganization came along sounder business practices, better management, and more scientific methods.

Fink restricts himself almost exclusively to American companies. The last three of his five chapters contain excellent syntheses of the important developments each year from 1865 to 1895. W. Turrentine Jackson uses very much the same chronological approach in Part II in tracing the British interest in the range cattle industry from 1883 to 1895. During a Fulbright lectureship in Scotland (1949-50), Jackson availed himself of the opportunity to collect heretofore un-

published materials on Scottish and English cattle companies. These companies made enormous profits and later lost some seventeen million dollars on the American ranges. The story of how they did it, how they recouped some of their losses, and how they retreated is presented for the first time in documented details.

The last part of the trilogy departs somewhat from the approach of the first two. It is the story of John W. Iliff as told by a prolific writer and student of the West, Agnes Wright Spring. Iliff was one of the most famous cattlemen of his time and perhaps the most successful that the West ever produced, although the reviewer must confess that he had not previously run across the name until this volume came to hand. Undoubtedly, the story of Iliff's activities is presented in order to demonstrate that not all of the early cattle barons died poor as a result of their reckless folly in a very unstable business.

The bibliographies at the end of each section are most impressive. The various narratives sometime get lost in statistics and repetitious details. But this study — especially Part I and Part II — will be referred to by particular scholars for a long time.

University of Oklahoma

W. EUGENE HOLLON

Observations on California 1772-1790. By Father Luis Sales, O.P. Translated and edited by Charles N. Rudkin. Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1956. Pp. xiii, 218. \$10.

The *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias* of P. Luis Sales, consisting of three long letters written *ca.* 1790, is the earliest Dominican account of the Christian mission in Lower California. Charles N. Rudkin now presents the first complete publication since the original edition of 1794 and the only translation into English.

A fair observer, Sales was at the time of writing a practical missionary of nearly twenty years' experience in Lower California. His narrative is replete with eye-witness details of his surroundings and experience. Especially is this

true of the first letter, concerning the geography and ethnography of the Dominican area, and of the third, on the Dominican mission itself. The second letter, on the antecedent Jesuit and Franciscan history, while essential to the presentation, is on the whole less original and less reliable than the other two. None of the letters betrays any perceptible prejudice against the rival orders, for Sales held the "apostolic missionaries" of all orders in the highest esteem, characterizing them as the most distinguished, useful, and noble of the subjects of the king. The Dominican achievement fell short of the Jesuit achievement even in the late 1780's, and Sales attributed this to the availability of the troops that had accompanied the Jesuit "conquests" and to the private endowments that had financed them. Dominican "endowments," by contrast, consisted of meager disbursements from the royal treasury, and it is notable that Sales refrained to the extent that he did from casting the Dominicans in the role of poor but loyal servants of the crown, and the Jesuits, recently expelled, as their foil.

What emerges most clearly from the Sales letters is the humdrum existence of the frontier missionary in late colonial times. The half-Christianized Indians under his charge he regarded as the poorest, most unfortunate, most intellectually deficient, and most cowardly persons in the world, and he expressed his only real enthusiasm at the end on receiving his orders to return to Spain ("You cannot imagine how many thanks I gave to God for such a special blessing"). Indeed one of his principal purposes in writing was to demonstrate the error of the belief that missionaries led materially profitable lives. "All that there is here in California is starvation, nakedness and misery." In addition to the other points of interest it is the circumstantial demonstration of these qualities that gives character and importance to this work.

The translation by Charles N. Rudkin is excellent. The edition includes explanatory and bibliographical notes and an index.

Harvard University

CHARLES GIBSON

The Mexican Government Today. By William P. Tucker. Pp. xii, 484. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. Bibliography and Index. \$6.50.

Dr. William P. Tucker, Professor of Political Science at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, has contributed the first extended treatment of the political structure and institutions of Mexico which should prove an invaluable aid to students of political science as well as to students of Mexican affairs generally. The author has effectively utilized a very extensive and comprehensive bibliography which included not only published materials, but also relevant theses and dissertations prepared both in Mexico and in the United States.

After a brief exposition of the environmental and historical background the author presents, in varying detail, sections on the organization and structure of the Mexican government, agencies of internal administration and external relations, public utilities, agriculture, social services, and governmental subdivisions. The historical background, because of limitations of space, tends to be routine and cursory. However, additional specialized background material, with emphasis on the most recent decades, has been incorporated within each subordinate section of the volume.

As a description of the legal provisions, organizational forms, and jurisdictional responsibilities of Mexican governmental elements, Professor Tucker's study is an excellent and dependable source. Regarding the contrast between appearance and reality, legal forms and practise, the volume is more suggestive than definitive. Professor Tucker is aware of and clearly indicates the large element of personalism in Mexican political practise, the predominance of the executive on governmental processes, and the nonexistence of true federalism or state sovereignty. He laments the scarcity of published materials on public administration, state and local government, and on the actual operating details and methods of policy formation. However, there are areas in which some evidence is available. For example, the number of interventions in state government by federal authorities can be documented as well as the instances in which the president has

declared industries "saturated." In addition, the author is inclined on occasion to attribute exclusively to tradition and custom practises which might more properly be assigned to necessity or to historical experience.

Throughout the volume, and even extending to the publisher's comments on the jacket flaps, there is a running comparison with the governmental system of the United States. For the uninitiated layman this approach has the merit of making the unfamiliar intelligible in terms of the familiar. However, there is danger of establishing this country's system as a yardstick against which to measure the accomplishments and shortcomings of our neighbor. This assuredly was not the author's intention. In fact, sharing the conviction of other contemporary observers, Professor Tucker views Mexico as a developing democracy within the framework of her own history. While noting the factors militating against the development of democratic institutions, he describes the establishment of democratic ideals, the growth of personal freedom, the progress toward representative governmental structure including the broadening of representation within the official party, the development of opposition parties, the decline of the dependence on the military element, and, most recently, the effort to achieve integrity in government.

The errors which this reviewer caught are few (i.e. describing Madero's party as the "Liberal Opposition Party" on page 41 and the misspelling of Ixtaccihuatl on page 3) and unimportant in the face of the comprehensive nature of the volume. The inclusiveness of Professor Tucker's coverage of Mexican governmental agencies is most impressive and merits for the volume inclusion in every Mexicanist's library.

University of Nebraska

STANLEY R. ROSS

Law West of Fort Smith; A History of Justice in the Indian Territory, 1834-1896. By Glenn Shirley. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1957. Pp. xi, 333. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, and notes. \$5.00.

In *Law West of Fort Smith* author Glenn Shirley takes the reader down what must by now be a well-worn trail through the career of the famed "hanging judge," Isaac C.

Parker. This is the third book within the last six years devoted to the life of Judge Parker and the exploits of the outlaws who infested the Indian Territory. However, since Americans seemingly never tire of tales of the lawless west, this book should prove a good seller.

Judge Parker presided over the Federal District Court at Ft. Smith, Arkansas, from 1875 until 1896. His jurisdiction extended over western Arkansas and the Indian Territory, an area of over 74,000 square miles. Together with 200 deputy marshals and George Maledon, his hangman, Parker did his best to bring law and order to this turbulent area. For twenty-one years he meted out a stern justice and made his name one to be feared among frontier hoodlums. The judge sent 79 men to the scaffold and Maledon became famed throughout the west as the "Prince of Hangmen." Another 81 escaped the gallows only by virtue of Presidential clemency or after 1889 through intervention by the Supreme Court. Until 1889, when Congress provided for review by the Supreme Court, there was no appeal from a sentence of Judge Parker's court.

Mr. Shirley presents a sympathetic picture of Parker as a dedicated and courageous man who worked against tremendous odds to bring criminals to justice. Judge Parker was not one to allow maudlin sentimentality to interfere with his mission. In fact, he frequently seemed too eager for convictions. His zeal often led him to aid the prosecution, intimidate defense witnesses, and exercise undue influence over juries. In his last years on the bench, his often-times high-handed conduct brought him into frequent conflict with the Supreme Court.

Mr. Shirley also relates the exploits of a host of outlaws who came before Parker's famous Ft. Smith court. He wastes little time in glorifying the frontier bandits. Belle Starr, the Dalton brothers, Cherokee Bill, Cole Younger, the Bucks gang, and others appear not as western heroes, but as sadistic villains and wanton killers.

The book is based upon thorough research and is entertainingly written. It should appeal to western enthusiasts.

University of Houston

RICHARD D. YOUNGER

A Pictorial History of the American Indian. By Oliver La Farge. New York, N. Y.: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956. Pp. 272. Index. \$7.50.

Mr. La Farge has prepared a brief comprehensive history of the Indians in the United States. He deals with them in regional cultural groupings, comparing and contrasting their way of life. It is laid bare in all its simplicity and complexity.

The white man has spoken of himself as civilized, the Indian not so. The author is a traditionalist: no Indians were fully civilized; some were "semi-civilized"; but all were on the way to the white man's status until interrupted by his invasion of their country. The mere use of this word created and creates a mental block in understanding the Indian. It reveals the superiority complex of the white man; although I suspect that all peoples have been similarly affected, including the Indian.

The reviewer sees all the qualities of the white man among the North American aborigines; the two races differed only in the details of material culture. The Indian was a lover, a father or mother, warrior, teacher, philosopher, farmer, hunter, artist and craftsman — and he sought an answer to the question, what existence follows life on earth?

There is not and was not an Indian people in the sense of a single group or culture, as Mr. La Farge makes clear. *The* Indian language never existed. On the contrary, these people varied in the details of their "civilization," even as the white people. Some groups had a more comfortable material life than others. Wherever they lived, they adapted themselves to the environment. Although economic motivation was prominent in Indian life, psychological values were also strong. Their spiritual beliefs ranged from magic to a concept of a divine spirit.

In the heyday of the Indians' independent life, the reviewer is inclined to believe that they were better educated for their time and place than white men are today. The individual was well acquainted with his environment and knew the traditions of the tribe. Few white men have a comparable education; theirs is atomized by over-specialization.

The white man ruined the Indian's way of life. Some groups were wiped out by the invader; others were pushed onto a reservation in a foreign part of the United States; and a few retained substantial land holdings in their homeland. The details of the story present a sad picture. Some Indians were debauched by the white man's liquor and others succumbed from new diseases. Those who survived alternately fought and accepted peace. The white man's conscience bothered him and he developed two historical schools of thought: the one taught that the Indian was a savage, the other that he was a noble red man. The author believes that the truth lies in between. This is the truth.

There was not a feature of Indian behavior that did not have its counterpart in the white man. *Savagery*, for instance, existed among both groups. The white man's self-revelation in this respect is too recent to need further elaboration — the Indian's can be buried with the past. The common bond between the two races on the debit side is man's inhumanity towards man.

Mr. La Farge points out that human sacrifice, torture, and a love of war existed among the Indians in the southeastern part of the United States, but were notably lacking in the southwest. He attributes the origin of these practices to the Mexican Indians, indicating a northward movement of cultural influence. The southeasterners called war their "beloved occupation." Peace was idleness.

In a subject of such magnitude, there are bound to be some questionable statements. The horse was the white man's greatest contribution to the Indian's culture. This may be true, but the reviewer is confused by contradictory statements concerning the time of arrival of the horse in the High Plains culture (pp. 148, 159). I doubt that the Pawnee Indians with French allies ever raided the Spanish settlements in the Rio Grande valley (p. 147); that the Kiowas invaded Navaholand in western New Mexico in the 1860's (p. 161); and that Yankee traders often bought slaves in California and traded them in Alaska (p. 203). The theory that the Indian acquired the horse by capturing those that had escaped

from the white man into a life of freedom is a moot point (p. 147). The Pueblo folk did not attain "perfect concerted action" in their war for independence in 1680 (p. 141). Kit Carson trounced the Navahos in 1863, not in 1868, the year of their return home (p. 144).

Mr. La Farge places too much stress on the theory that the concept of "government by consent of the governed" had a North American Indian origin (p. 28); it was well rooted in Europe. I feel far more charitable toward General Carleton's policy of moving the troublesome Navahos to the Bosque Redondo than the author, who attributes the plan to "wild theorists" (p. 144).

One of the many interesting revelations of Indian life is the story of the Sioux Indian soldiers returned home from World War I. They requested membership in the tribal Soldier Society, and were denied. Killing at a distance with rifle fire might be necessary, the Elders admitted, but it did not make a warrior according to Sioux custom (p. 156). Another tidbit is the statement that east coast Indians had a lighter skin which turned a reddish color under the sun's rays, hence the term "red man."

About two thirds of the book is a wonderful assortment of pictures of Indians and Indian life: sketches by early travelers, reproductions of museum models, photographs, and paintings. A few are in color. Among the paintings are works of present-day artists of Indian ancestry. Incidentally, the artist Al Momaday claims Kiowa descent, not Chiricahua Apache (p. 140).

All told, Mr. La Farge has performed an excellent service in telling the story of our citizens of Indian ancestry. In word and picture the reader will find not only useful information and entertainment, but much food for thought about the relations among the peoples in this world.

The book is also a tribute to the art of printing.

F. D. R.

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THE CROWN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO¹

By GEORGE P. HAMMOND AND AGAPITO REY

IN the Spanish conquest of America, expeditions of exploration and conquest were usually organized and financed by private individuals. Columbus' expedition of discovery furnishes a good example of this pattern, although the daring conquests of Cortés in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru are no less striking. In each case, a private individual made a contract, or *capitulación*, with the Crown. This contract contained a specific list of rights and privileges conferred by the King on the new conqueror and his people, those reserved by the Crown, all in great detail. Rarely did the King contribute to the cost of such an expedition, except to defray the costs of the friars.

These private conquering expeditions were undertaken in the hope of discovering new lands and peoples, of enlarging Spain's boundaries in unknown parts of the world, of gaining wealth and fame for those who participated in the Conquest, and of extending the sway of the Christian Church over the heathen people, and thereby fulfill the King's obligations to convert and Christianize the Indians. Most of the conquerors who obtained contracts to discover and settle new areas made great investments of funds and labor, and made heroic personal sacrifices. Many spent all their resources in

1. This article is based primarily on documents in the Contaduría section of the Archives of the Indies in Seville, selected many years ago by France V. Scholes and the late Lansing B. Bloom, both of the University of New Mexico, and microfilmed by the latter in 1938.

such ventures — many failed to win the expected reward. A far larger number became rich in experience only — and so felt entitled in later years to petition the Crown for government positions or for grants of land because of their many sacrifices in the royal service.

New Mexico furnishes a fine example of a newly discovered province thought to be rich, which a private individual and his friends sought to conquer and settle, at great expense and hardship to themselves. The King's participation was expected to consist largely in the granting of favors to the prospective colonists, the payment of the costs of the friars, and some help in the form of loans of quicksilver, small cannons, or other items over which the Crown had a virtual monopoly. Actually, the Crown soon became involved in large expenditures, ending with complete responsibility for the welfare of the province.

New Mexico, explored by Coronado in 1540-42 and virtually forgotten for some forty years, was rediscovered in 1580, at a time when most of the "push" had gone out of Spain's expanding empire. By that date, Spanish miners and cattle ranchers had established a foothold as far north of Mexico City as modern Chihuahua, where they found excellent mines, as well as good grazing for their stock. Some of these mines, such as San Francisco del Oro a few miles from modern Parral, discovered in 1567, are still in operation. At these mining settlements news was picked up that there was a great country far to the north, rich in mineral prospects and inhabited by people living in settled towns like the Indians of Mexico. The combination of resources suggested by these rumors pointed to the discovery of "another Mexico," and credulous seekers after wealth were deluded by tales of riches just as Coronado and his men had been many years earlier. Expeditions of discovery followed, which seemed to bear out these rumors, with the natural result that the Crown in 1595 authorized the settlement of New Mexico and the appointment of some suitable individual to assume the burden of directing the conquest.

There was no dearth of volunteers. The man finally se-

lected was Don Juan de Oñate, the descendant of a family which had played a major part in the conquest and settlement of New Galicia, opening mines and pacifying Indians in that rich area. Not only did his family have a reputation for successful military conquest and great mining wealth, but it was well known in Mexican society, including the Viceroy's own circle. A contract was made between Oñate and the Viceroy and hopes ran high for a successful conquest.²

Oñate's petition to undertake the new discovery was dated in Mexico, September 21, 1595. In return for his offer to enlist 200 men for the New Mexican expedition, with appropriate supplies of all kinds, all at his own cost, the Crown was to assume the cost of sending along six friars, three small field pieces, thirty quintals of powder, and one hundred quintals of lead. In addition the Crown loaned Oñate one dozen coats of mail, which he was required to pay for, and granted him a loan of six thousand pesos for six years. Oñate was also given ten quintals of quicksilver, but these he was to return or pay for. (Oñate had asked for a loan of twenty thousand pesos, but by his contract the King granted him a loan of six thousand, on condition that he give security to return them by the end of January, 1596.)

The Crown's participation in equipping the Oñate expedition was not large in comparison with the cost of providing for two hundred men and their families, the burden of which was carried by Oñate, his relatives, and a few close friends.

These costs were greatly increased by unexpected delays, extending from 1595 to 1598, occasioned by a dispute over Oñate's right to continue as leader of the proposed conquest. The men recruited in Mexico City and elsewhere in the fall of 1595 had been taken first to Zacatecas and then to the Chihuahua frontier, beyond the settled border. While there, in 1596, the news came by courier that the King had suspended Oñate and that the expedition would not be permitted to pro-

2. Chief recent works on Oñate are: George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico*, Albuquerque, 1953, 2 vols.; George P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*, Santa Fe, 1927; Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. 1, Washington, 1923, pp. 193-487.

ceed.³ Against this order, Oñate and his powerful friends made strenuous protests, but before it was revoked and Oñate reinstated, in 1598, he and his army had undergone two official inspections by officials of the Viceroy's staff. He weathered them, however, and managed to keep his army together, although in reduced number and at very great cost. When the ban of suspension was finally lifted and Oñate had passed his last inspection, he set out for New Mexico with a force that had been sadly depleted, both in men and supplies, by the long period of waiting. The effect on the morale of the expedition can be conjectured, though all put the best face on the venture that they could.

Before these events came to pass, Oñate had the expense of recruiting, organizing, and equipping his followers and sending them to Zacatecas, the point of rendezvous on the northern frontier of New Spain. To accompany these parties to that city, the Viceroy sent an escort to maintain discipline and to protect the people along the way from pillage. For this purpose, Juan de la Mota and Juan de Sotelo, who were commissioned to lead these escorts, received 344 and 223 pesos, respectively.⁴

One of the problems of the day is shown by the fact that Captain Juan de la Mota, who had been paid 250 pesos in advance, absconded with the money — thus causing the Crown added expense — though he was later captured and imprisoned! Meantime, Sotelo had been commissioned to take over the escort.

Beyond Zacatecas the frontier lay wide open, with only occasional settlements, mines, and cattle ranches. Here Oñate had enemies, such as Colmenares, and perhaps the colonists sought to live off the country, for Oñate and his men were charged with cattle stealing and other irregularities on this stretch of their march northward.⁵ To investigate these

3. Gaspar de Villagrà tells the story in verse in *Historia de la Nueva México*, Alcalá, 1610. A new edition, with additional documents, was issued in Mexico in 1900, in two volumes. Gilberto Espinosa made a prose translation into English, published by the Quivira Society as Vol. IV of its series in 1933.

4. Archivo General de Indias, *Contaduría*, legajo 245A. In giving these figures on costs, we have dropped the fractions.

5. See the article, "Was Oñate a Marauder?" in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. X (1935), pp. 249-270.

charges and to protect the frontier settlements, the Audiencia of Mexico sent one of its agents, an alcalde named Pedro de Rojas, with a small police force. By June 22, 1596, he and his men had received 812 pesos.⁶ There may indeed have been other such expenses, for we find that on November 7, 1596, one Pedro Ponce, an interpreter, was paid fourteen pesos in an inquiry involving mistreatment of the natives by Oñate's soldiers.

When the blow of suspension fell on Oñate in August, 1596, he refused to give up the expedition, continued to encourage his people, and maintained them on the frontier in southern Chihuahua at his own expense. To prove that his force was fully equipped, and that he had met the terms of his contract, he demanded an official inspection.⁷ The Viceroy was finally constrained to meet this request, and sent Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos with a group of officials to make the investigation. Apparently it cost more than four thousand pesos, judging by two vouchers, one dated June 6, 1596, and the other February 26, 1597, for payments made to Don Lope and his staff.⁸ The inspection itself was held at Santa Bárbara in southern Chihuahua in December, 1596, and January, 1597. The royal agents therefore had to make the long and costly trip from Mexico City to perform their mission and verify the fact that Oñate had enough men, equipment, and supplies to fulfill his contract.

Even though Oñate weathered this first review, the ban of suspension was not lifted, owing to machinations in Spain which had as their objective his replacement by a certain Pedro Ponce de León, an elderly Spanish nobleman, of some financial and political resources. After waiting another year, Oñate again demanded and received permission for another inspection, likewise carried out at the King's expense. Captain Juan de Frías Salazar, the officer in charge, carried out this assignment in December, 1597, and January, 1598. He and his staff came from Mexico City, which required a journey of several weeks, coming and going. The record shows

6. A. G. I., *Contaduría*, leg. 245A.

7. The documents on this topic will be found in Hammond and Rey, *Oñate, Colonizer*, I, 94ff.

8. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, legajos 245A and 696.

that Salazar was employed from October 2, 1597, to March 25, 1598, in this commission. The review, carried out with great severity, and quite obviously under difficult circumstances for the colonists, was tedious and difficult. The colonists made every effort to make a good showing, after nearly two years of waiting, and the inspector to make a thorough and accurate report. The figures that have been preserved, and which we have found, show that Salazar received a trifle over 1,165 pesos for his services, and that his various assistants received a total of about 1,550 pesos. Salazar had three assistants, Captain Luis Guerrero, four pesos per day; Jaime Fernández, secretary, three pesos per day; and Francisco Romero, alguacil, two and one-half pesos per day. The men were paid for a total of 169 days, possibly longer.⁹ In addition to the officials named, there must have been servants and camp assistants, but as to this the record is silent.

In this inspection, Oñate fell short of his obligations, but he was permitted to launch the conquest when friends undertook to make up what was lacking. The guarantors who went bond for him were his relatives, Juan Guerra de Resa and the latter's wife, Doña Ana de Mendoza. They pledged to recruit the 71 men needed to make up the 200 called for in the contract, and to provide other necessary goods and supplies.¹⁰ These reinforcements were sent on their way to New Mexico in 1600. They assembled at the mines of Santa Bárbara, in southern Chihuahua, where they had to undergo an official review, which was carried out under the direction of Captain Juan de Gordejuela and Captain Juan de Sotelo y Cisneros in August, 1600. It showed a total of 73 soldiers and officers, with the necessary carts, oxen, munitions, and supplies of all kinds. The actual cost of all this, we are informed, amounted to more than 100,000 pesos, supplied by Oñate's chief guarantor, Juan Guerra, and something less than that sum, supplied by Oñate's brother, Don Cristóbal.

The cost of inspecting this force was met from the King's treasury and was no small amount. The records do not disclose all that must have been spent, but we have substantially correct figures for the cost of hiring Captain Juan de Sotelo,

9. *Ibid.*, leg. 699.

10. Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.*, I, 75-82.

who served 11½ months on this assignment at a salary of 11 reals per day. Sotelo received 3,148 pesos, and his alguacil, Francisco Romero, 759 pesos.¹¹ We have found no statement of how much was paid to Captain Juan de Gordejuela, or others connected with the inspection, but their expenses would have been comparable to those of the other officers.

After these relief forces had been sent to New Mexico, Oñate and his colonists were able, in 1601, to make the projected expedition to the Kingdom of Quivira, supposed to be rich in both population and wealth. Although Oñate was able to make this trip, which took him as far as the Wichita area of Kansas, the new discovery proved a great disappointment, though he had heard of other kingdoms farther on which were said to be rich and which he was eager to prospect. Now Oñate could only return to Santa Fe to await additional reinforcements, for he was too weak to explore further at the moment. There, most of the colonists who had remained behind to hold the province had fled to Mexico, thereby paralyzing him and preventing him from any future activity.

In this emergency, he sent his brother, Don Alonso, to Mexico and Spain to seek additional support. The cost of this trip was met by Oñate and his family, but there was not much that the Crown could do at that moment to help Oñate, in view of the disappointing prospects of New Mexico, according to what had been found to that date. Don Alonso did succeed, however, in obtaining in Spain forty musketeers and ship carpenters and two pilots, to enable his brother to continue his exploration, for New Mexico was supposed to be near the Strait of Anian and they entertained hopes of finding that a ship route could be opened to New Mexico by way of the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans which would facilitate more direct communication with Spain and replace the cumbersome land route to Mexico City.

The cost of arms and transportation for these men was 1,500 ducats.¹² In the absence of further information, we may infer that they probably were sent to New Mexico, and though there was no need for them as ship's carpenters, they may

11. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, legajos 700, 701, 703, and 704.

12. *Ibid.*, leg. 707.

have been the reinforcement which enabled Oñate to make the expedition to the Gulf of California in 1604. The records for the period after the Quivira expedition of 1601 are very few, except for the great adventure to California, and for this we have only the diary of Father Francisco de Escobar — no other details of what preceded it or how Oñate got enough men and supplies to undertake such an extensive exploration through an unknown country. These forty men, sent at the cost of the Crown in 1603, were additional evidence of the royal interest in New Mexico and of the government's investment in its development.

The desertion of Oñate's colonists from Santa Fe in 1601 caused him and the Crown alike much grief and expense. Oñate was determined to bring them back and punish the guilty, but the parties he sent in pursuit failed to overtake the fleeing colonists. The Viceroy, in the meantime, had sent an escort to succor the deserters and to protect them from the governor's wrath, the cost of which was borne by the government.

For Oñate, the loss of so many of his colonists, about one-half of the total force, was a severe blow, and he made strenuous efforts to re-establish his fortunes by seeking renewed aid from the Crown. His brother, Don Alonso, continued to act as his agent at the Spanish court, where he was paid various sums by the government, an indication that he was on the royal payroll. We find, for example, that the Crown paid him, as Captain of Artillery, Arms, and Munitions, something over 220 pesos as salary for the last quarter of the year 1605, which was at the rate of four hundred pesos for each six months. The date of this voucher was March 4, 1606. A little later he received another like payment for the first quarter of 1606, as seen by a voucher of May 18, 1606.¹³

In 1602, Don Cristóbal, another brother of the governor, was paid four thousand pesos for iron for horseshoes, clothing, and other materials for the use of the people who had deserted New Mexico in 1601 without permission. This voucher is dated January 2, 1602. But it was only a loan, for

13. *Ibid.*, leg. 708.

Oñate was required to pay back one-half of the sum in 1602 and the other half in 1603.¹⁴

Other members of the Oñate family received various sums as government officials. On February 27, 1606, Don Fernando de Oñate, Don Juan's younger brother, was paid 214 pesos on his salary for the last quarter of 1605 (as corregidor of the City of Mexico). Luís de Oñate, another brother, was Assayer General of the mines in New Spain in 1606 and was paid a salary.¹⁵ These expenses cannot be charged against the New Mexico enterprise, but these incidents serve to show the prominence of the Oñate family and the fact that they received financial support from the government. It may be noted that this was after New Mexico had proved a costly failure and they presumably had to find other means of support, after they had staked, and spent, their fortunes in the New Mexico venture.

By his contract Oñate was to receive, at royal expense, six friars who would accompany the expedition to New Mexico. The first group, named in 1596, included Fray Rodrigo Durán, as leader of the party, and a certain Fray Diego Márquez, who went as representative of the Inquisition, but who, at the request of Viceroy Monterrey, was not permitted to go, owing to the possibility of stirring up conflict between the friars and the Holy Office of the Inquisition. After Oñate's suspension in August, 1596, and the consequent delay of the expedition, Fray Durán returned to Mexico.¹⁶

This Durán-Márquez group, it would appear, entailed heavy expense to the Crown. On March 6, 1596, we find a statement that the factor, Pedro de los Ríos, was paid 5,560 pesos for goods and support for these friars, and the cost of their journey to Zacatecas, and food, clothing, and supplies for the founding of convents in New Mexico.¹⁷

The next year, 1597, the escort for the group of friars, led by Fray Alonso Martínez, cost 1,290 pesos. The voucher of payment is dated September 30, 1597.¹⁸ Provisions and supplies amounted to 4,760 pesos, as shown by a payment of

14. *Ibid.*, leg. 703.

15. *Ibid.*, leg. 708.

16. Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.*, I., 15, 386.

17. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, leg. 245A.

18. *Ibid.*, leg. 842A.

December 22, 1597; and a suit of clothes for the leader of the wagon train cost 47½ pesos.¹⁹

Earlier, there had been a plan to send Carmelite friars from Spain to New Mexico, the expenses for which were charged to the Crown. This appears from the story of one Fray Joseph de Santa María, one of a group of 15 friars who experienced some misfortune in the port of Cádiz in which they lost all their supplies and equipment. Though the Council of the Indies approved more money for them, they did not go to New Mexico.²⁰ This field had been assigned to the Franciscans, and members of other religious orders were not permitted to go, in spite of the efforts of such groups to invade this fertile area.

In the year 1600, when the 73 soldiers were sent north to reinforce Oñate, they were accompanied by a party of nine friars, led by Fray Juan de Escalona as commissary. The cost of supplies for this group was approximately 9,185 pesos, paid to Pedro de los Ríos, leader of the supply train. In addition to daily needs for the road and for use in New Mexico, they brought books and articles for the vestry, dining room, kitchen, infirmary, and blacksmith shop.

The supply train of 1600, commanded by Bartolomé Sánchez from Zacatecas to New Mexico, was large and costly. Sánchez was paid 500 pesos for his service. Eight of the wagons, drawn by 83 mules and provided with certain equipment, cost 5,204. Six other wagons, with their quota of 56 mules, cost 3,575. To man the wagons and handle the animals there were six negroes, purchased for this purpose by order of the Viceroy, at a cost of 3,310 pesos, and eight or ten Indians and an interpreter, at a cost of 880 pesos for a period of eight months. Six or more Indian servants, certified by Father Escalona, earned 360 pesos, and a chap named Cabañuelos, in charge of six of the wagons, got 200 pesos. Steers, sheep, etc., cost 811 pesos, transport of corn, 82½, horseshoes, 271½, certain clothing and supplies, 180½, iron and hardtack, 2,266½, and the blacksmith, 84 pesos, earned in shoeing the animals.²¹

19. *Ibid.*, leg. 697.

20. *Ibid.*, leg. 245A.

21. *Ibid.*, leg. 700.

The accounting records disclose also that in 1603 four friars were sent to reinforce those already in New Mexico. This was doubtless in response to Oñate's plight following the desertion of so large a number of his colonists and friars in 1601, while he was absent in Quivira. For equipping these four friars (of whom Francisco de Escobar was commissary but whose names are not given),²² the Crown paid 3,925 pesos, possibly more, for we find the statement that the royal treasury paid a total of 4,890 pesos for this purpose, including the soldier escort. The ten soldiers in it received 250 pesos each, or a total of 2,500 pesos, and 965 pesos for equipment.²³ It may be observed that the general documents relating to the Oñate expedition make no record of this group of friars, from which we infer that small parties may have reinforced him occasionally.

Viceroy Montesclaros in 1605 sent a special reinforcement of two friars and twenty soldiers to New Mexico, as appears from the accounting records once more. Each of the soldiers was paid 200 pesos in advance, by an order of July 5, 1605, but was required to serve at least six months and to provide himself with horses, arms, and other necessary equipment for the journey, "this being the time for which they received salary from his Majesty, while a decision was reached on matters pertaining to New Mexico."²⁴ The question was whether Oñate would remain as governor or whether the Crown would take over the province. These twenty soldiers brought supplies for the friars, including tents, blankets, incense for Masses, soap, razors, axes, hoes, and other supplies, all of which cost 207 pesos. This sum was augmented by 748 pesos for other supplies, especially iron, nails, and heavy materials of like nature, for the use of the friars. This disbursement was dated September 3, 1605.²⁵ Unfortunately, the names of the two friars do not appear in the sources at our command.

Since Oñate had failed to maintain the confidence of the government, it was decided to recall him, and this was ordered by the Council of the Indies on June 17, 1606. The next

22. *Ibid.*, leg. 842A.

23. *Ibid.*, legs. 704 and 705.

24. *Ibid.*, leg. 707.

25. *Loc. cit.*

year, at the end of his resources, Oñate resigned, declaring that he could not remain in New Mexico after June 30, 1608.²⁶ Meanwhile, the Viceroy of Mexico sent Fray Lázaro Ximénez to investigate and report on the situation, with an escort of a captain and eight soldiers. Another party consisting of a captain and nine soldiers was commissioned to take supplies and cattle to New Mexico. The first group received an advance on their salaries of 2,800 pesos, paid February 11, and the second, 3,000 pesos, paid April 7, 1608.²⁷ At the same time, the Crown appointed Don Pedro de Peralta as governor to succeed Oñate and breathed new life into the half-starved colony.

These new expenses, as gleaned from the accounting records, show the following initial costs, all chargeable to the Crown:

February 11, 1608, to Captain Juan Lucas de Oropesa and eight soldiers, escort to Fray Lázaro Ximénez, as noted above	2,800 pesos
April 7, 1608, to Captain Marcos García and nine soldiers, bringing cattle and supplies to New Mexico	3,000 "
April 7, 1608, to Captain Juan Velarde, commissary of the supply train, per year	450 "

Most of these men served for limited periods of six months or so. Those who remained in New Mexico received wages at the same rates, all duly paid by the Crown.

The great event of the period, as is clear from the foregoing, was the appointment of Don Pedro de Peralta as royal governor of New Mexico in March, 1609, at a salary of 2,000 pesos per year, with an allowance of 500 pesos for travel expenses. This meant the end of the private adventurer and his replacement by the strong arm of the government. His escort consisted of 15 soldiers, whose salary was 450 pesos annually. An alférez, Bartolomé de Montoya, hired at the same salary, was to accompany two friars from Mexico City to Zacatecas. These sums were paid in February and March,

26. Hammond, *The Founding of New Mexico*, pp. 172-73.

27. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, leg. 710.

1609, in preparation for the governor's journey to New Mexico.²⁸

To give new impetus to the work of the missionaries, nine Franciscan friars were sent to New Mexico in 1609, led by Fray Isidro Ordoñez and Fray Alonso Peynado. Mounts and clothes for these nine friars totaled 1,755 pesos. There was an expenditure of 30 pesos to Fray Joseph Tabera for carrying dispatches to Zacatecas from Mexico. Provisions and supplies for these friars amounted to 10,703 pesos, paid on June 23, 1609. There was an additional expenditure on October 27, 1609, of 5,108 pesos for plowshares and other hardware and supplies, and of 45 pesos on April 7, 1610, to clothe an Indian chief and his wife from the pueblo of San Marcos in New Mexico who were returning there.²⁹ There were other costs, such as for escorts or couriers between New Mexico and Mexico City. And the cattle and supplies that ex-Governor Oñate had left behind were taken over by Peralta and charged to the Crown. These amounted to 1,365 pesos for livestock and 2,247 for supplies and equipment, as appraised by Alonso de Salazar Barahona, accountant, and Rafael de Alzate, treasurer.³⁰

To equip the missions and churches of New Mexico, the viceroy on October 1, 1611, authorized an expenditure of 18,671 pesos for church ornaments, bells, provisions, and religious paraphernalia of various kinds. The list of these materials was prepared by Fray Isidro Ordoñez, who returned to Mexico from Santa Fe to supervise the shipment.³¹ A little later, December 9, 1611, the sum of 1,067 pesos was added to meet the costs of the friars, especially for wagons and similar equipment for the journey.³²

There were other bills, such as for wages of the soldiers who served the king continuously between 1608 and 1610. Among these were Juan de Lara and Melchior de Torres,³³ who went with the supply train to New Mexico early in 1608 and returned with the party escorting the two ex-governors,

28. *Ibid.*, leg. 711; Hammond and Rey, *op cit.*, II, 1084-86.

29. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, legajos 711, 712, and 713.

30. *Ibid.*, leg. 713.

32. *Ibid.*, leg. 715.

31. *Ibid.*, leg. 714.

33. *Ibid.*, legajos 713 and 715.

Don Juan de Oñate and his son, Don Cristóbal, April 30, 1610, to Mexico City.

These investments, after 1609, when the Crown assumed complete responsibility for New Mexico, marked the beginning of a new period in its history. While Oñate was governor, captain general, and adelantado, he had the obligation of paying the bills, except those of the friars, but the failure to discover riches had left him in virtual bankruptcy. Actually, Oñate was one of the last of the adelantados in the Spanish Empire, for by this time it was clear that there were no more Indian kingdoms to despoil and that only the Crown itself could afford the costs of such new conquests.

In New Mexico, the burden of holding the colony and converting the Indians now devolved completely on the Crown. Friars, soldiers, and settlers alike looked to the government for everything. Santa Fe, the new capital, became the center of administration for the next two hundred years. The soldiers were paid a salary of 450 pesos a year. Fifty men were to be stationed in the capital as guards for the missionaries and as soldier colonists, though at the outset there were probably less than one-half of that number.³⁴ As already suggested, there was also the cost of supporting the friars, their clothing, supplies, provisions, church equipment — in short, everything — to say nothing of the cost of travel from Mexico to Santa Fe and the transport of supplies over a distance of about 1,200 miles.

This became the pattern of life in New Mexico after 1609. There was a governor in the capital, at Santa Fe, who commanded a small group of soldier-colonists, his army of defense against Indian hostility. Governor and soldiers alike were paid a regular salary, with additional allotments for travel, supplies, and equipment for defense. At first the number was small, but this number was augmented with the passing years.

To make friends with the Indians and to baptize and teach them, the government maintained a number of mis-

34. Cf. Hammond & Rey, *op. cit.*, I, 33-35, II, 1082ff.

sionaries. There were nine in the party who went to New Mexico in 1609 with Peralta,³⁵ and there must have been a few there from Oñate's time. These friars built missions and churches, labored among the natives, visited the distant or hostile tribes, and ministered to the spiritual needs of the Spanish colony. For them the government provided food, clothing, books, vestments — the wine, oil, and other sacred needs for their churches, and the bells and other equipment for their houses of worship. From the time they left Mexico City till their return (and many spent a lifetime in the distant colony) the Crown paid for their every need, in so far as it could be provided.³⁶

Some figures are available on the government's expenditures in New Mexico for the decade after Peralta became governor on March 3, 1609. His term lasted three years and 242 days, or till October 31, 1612,³⁷ after which came Admiral Bernardino de Zavallos, though he was not appointed till August 5, 1613. Besides the 15 soldiers who escorted him and remained in New Mexico, there were a few hold-overs from those who went to New Mexico in 1608, as is shown by their demands for payment, claims which were duly honored. Among these we find the names of Alonso Ramírez de Salazar, one of the supply train of 1609; Francisco de Barrios, who enlisted in August, 1608, and served till October, 1613; Francisco González Pita, Captain Diego de Bañuelos, Francisco Zapata, Juan Rodríguez de Herrera, Gáspar Pérez, all of whom returned to Mexico in October, 1613; and Tomás Ochoa and Alférez Juan de la Cruz, who remained till 1614. Early in 1614, Zavallos sent a courier to Zacatecas, which cost 304 pesos.³⁸

The salary of Zavallos was 2,000, with 500 additional for equipment for the journey. His train included one covered wagon (*carreta fuerte*) with eleven mules, which cost 830 pesos.³⁹ It would seem that he traveled in style and security.

35. A. G. I., *Contaduría*, leg. 711.

36. Cf. France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V (1930), 93ff.

37. A. G. I., *Contaduría*, leg. 716.

38. *Loc. cit.*

39. *Loc. cit.*

Other than this, we have no other records of the expenses of his administration.

In 1616, a new group of seven friars was sent to New Mexico, with Fray Bernardo de Aguirre as president,⁴⁰ though we do not have the names of the others, and a new governor, Don Juan de Eulate, replaced Zavallós. We have very few details of these events, but the accounting records state that seven friars left Zacatecas in September, 1616, after waiting there since January 4. The cost of their support in Zacatecas for this time had been 1,006 pesos, and warehousing of their goods cost 87 pesos. Eleven iron-clad wagons, with eight mules for each, cost 8,038 pesos, and four more, with 16 extra mules, cost an additional 3,192. And there were 60 mules for the friars, which cost about 37 pesos each, or more than 2,220 pesos. Most of these bills were paid on September 30, 1616, suggesting that the supply train and the friars were then on their way to New Mexico. The goods and supplies for the friars and soldiers for use on the journey totaled 2,588 pesos; the blacksmith required another 213 for materials and equipment; a mayordomo and his drivers, comprising 15 Indians and four Indian women, cost 2,480 pesos. And the provisions for the seven friars, 834 pesos.⁴¹

Salaries of the soldiers amounted to 4,776 pesos. With these details we come to the end of the records for that supply train and the expenses of sending the friars and soldiers who went to New Mexico with Governor Eulate and Father President Aguirre.

We bring to a close this decade of New Mexico affairs with the sending of a new group of friars, in 1621, of which Fray Miguel de Echavarría was custodio, according to the accounting records, and his associates were Fray Ascencio de Zárate, Fray Gerónimo de Zárate (Salmerón), Fray Martín de Arvide, Fray Francisco Fonsi, and Alonso de San Juan, lay brother. Goods furnished them in Zacatecas cost 1,065 pesos, and other expenses 136 pesos. Food and pro-

40. *Ibid.*, leg. 845B.

41. These facts are culled from papers in the same legajo in A. G. I., *Contaduría*, 845B.

visions for the trip amounted to 1,395 pesos; two Indian servants made it 340 pesos more, and storage of goods, 10 pesos.

This brings to an end the story of the Contaduría records of New Mexico affairs till 1621, after which more abundant sources are available, much of which has been published by France V. Scholes.

FATHER GOTTFRIED BERNHARDT MIDDENDORFF,
S.J., PIONEER OF TUCSON

By THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN*

THE region about Tucson, Arizona, has seen many pioneers, both in number and in kind. Most vivid in contemporary memory, aided and abetted by motion pictures and television, is the concept of stockman's and miner's country, replete with gun duels and famous frontier marshals. This, or something vaguely like it, was the Anglo-American frontier of the post-Civil War period, the second cycle in the development of that region.

There had been an earlier cycle of another sort, different from the later one not only because the people were of different stock but also mainly because of the different philosophies of government which lay behind the two groups of pioneers. The Anglo-American frontier of the nineteenth century was individualistic and competitive; part of an expanding republic. The earlier frontier had been the fringe of an authoritarian empire, designed in Europe, and held as near to this design as was humanly possible by a subject people—soldiers, missionaries and their Indian wards, and secular colonists.¹

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1. The word *subject* is used in a very specific and literal sense to describe people who thought of themselves as subjects of the King of Spain, and who frequently so referred to themselves in their correspondence. Moreover, they sought to bring the Indians into their system as subjects of the same king.

It is notable that the success or failure of consolidating a region within the empire depended to a considerable extent upon the degree of subjugation attained over the natives—this being borne out in the early history of the Tucson area—the more so since the number of Spaniards in remoter frontier regions was never large. In Sonora the poison-arrow shooting Seri, possibly exceeded in their rugged individualism only by the stock-thieving Apache, successfully resisted subjugation. One of the Jesuit missionaries, Father Johann Nentwig, onetime minister at San Xavier del Bac, wrote vehemently on the subject of what should be done about these Indians. The final section of his *Description of Sonora* is entitled, "Thoughts on Modes of Chastizing the Enemies, and of Preventing the Final Ruin of Sonora." Father Nentwig counsels "recourse to God our Lord with true repentance and fervent prayers" but also well-planned warfare. In the words of the proverb, he says, "Ask for God's help and hammer away."

The *Description* referred to above is familiarly known as the *Rudo Ensayo*. An English version of it was published in 1951, Tucson, by Arizona Silhouettes. In 1952 Alberto Francisco Pradeau of Los Angeles documented the authorship of the work, though this had been known for some years by students in the field of southwest history. See AGN, Hacienda, Leg 17 (I and II) for additional proof of Nentwig's authorship.

Subject or not, the people in both these periods of the Arizona frontier strove mightily to master their environment, and members of each group expressed great individuality in the process. Among the earliest pioneers in southern Arizona were missionaries of the Society of Jesus, and they have left their mark on the area to this day. In their time the name Arizona had but limited meaning;² the region including Tucson was part of Pimería Alta or, speaking more generally, of Sonora, one of the *Provincias Internas* of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

To the earliest bona fide pioneer of Tucson the southern part of today's Arizona was the "Limit of Christendom" or, in the German words, *Ende der Christenheit*.³ The pioneer who used these words was a German, born in Vechte in Westphalia, in the Bishopric of Münster, February 14, 1723. His name was Father Gottfried Bernhardt Middendorff of the Society of Jesus. He was thirty-three years old when he arrived in Tucson to become its first missionary.⁴

2. Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn in his *Description of Sonora* (T. E. Treutlein, trans. and ed., Albuquerque, 1949), pp. 236-38, includes a glossary of Sonora place names. The following names with their meanings may be noted:

Arisona (sand dune)—Indian village; Tucson (heath)—Indian village; San Xavier del Vac—Indian village. It gets its name from Cuema Vac, a Spanish place in New Spain where a picture of St. Francis Xavier is greatly venerated; Terenate (thorn bush)—location of a Spanish garrison; Tubaca (soap-berry tree; place where it grows in abundance)—location of a Spanish garrison; Tumacacori (pepper bush; place where the little round pepper is found in abundance)—Indian village; Guebavi (large river)—Indian village. Cf. William C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson, 1935), for other commentaries on some of these place names.

3. Herbert E. Bolton used the expression, "Rim of Christendom" as the title of his great work on Father Kino, which is sub-titled, *A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (N. Y., 1936). Bolton does not say where he picked up this phrase. One may surmise that he had read himself into a feeling for the times to the extent that he coined an expression which accurately described the remoteness of the northwest country from the Spanish centers of civilization farther to the south.

The German words, "Ende der Christenheit" (also "Grenzen der neuen Christenheit"), appear in the excerpts made from the diary of Father Middendorff, published under the title, "Aus dem Tagebuche des mexikanischen Missionarius Gottf. Bernh. Middendorff aus der Gesellschaft Jesu, geb. zu Vechte im stifte Münster. A. 1754-1776 n. Ch.," Parts I, II, and III, *Katholischen magazin für Wissenschaft und Leben* (Münster, 1845). Literally translated the word *End* should be rendered end or limit; and *Grenze* as boundary. Unfortunately, the editor of the Middendorff *Tagebuch* does not explain whether he translated the diary from Latin into German or merely reproduced German manuscript into the printed form.

It should be noted, however, that Arthur Gardiner, who translated a letter written by Middendorff on 3 March 1757, dated at S. Augustin de Tucson [sic], found that Middendorff wrote about himself, in Latin, as being on the rim of Christendom. (see note 4, below, for further reference to this letter of 3 March 1757.)

4. Tucson had been a *visita* of Mission San Xavier del Bac since at least 1737.

How did it happen that a German priest should have been a pioneer in Arizona during the days when it was a part of the far-flung Empire of Spain? The answer is very prosaic. Spain, despite her closed, monopolistic mercantile philosophy of government, had to use "foreign" or "non-Spanish" missionaries because she had too few potential or actual missionaries among her own nationals.⁵

Father Middendorff received word in May 26, 1754, from the Jesuit General, Ignatius Visconti, that he might go to the "Indies," the term used for the overseas American missions.⁶ The General's communication was not an order; rather, it was a permission. Middendorff could choose to go or to remain. The Father Provincial, Johann Schreiber, tried to dissuade Middendorff from accepting the opportunity ow-

Cf. Gerard Decorme, S.J., *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Epoca Colonial, 1572-1767* (Mexico, 1941), II, p. 428, note 9, where mention is made of the *visita* of the Bishop Elizacoahecha to San Ignacio, where the missionaries provided him with the records of baptisms, marriages, and burials. In that year, 1737, Bac had six *visitas*, one of them being Tucson.

However, at the time of Middendorff's arrival in Sonora it was decided to change the status of Tucson from that of *visita* to mission. The question then arises, when was Mission San Augustin de Tucson founded?

Decorme, *ibid.*, 443, thinks that the endowment for the abandoned Mission of Sonóita was used to establish a mission at Tucson; Father Middendorff was sent there to begin the work and, adds Decorme, "conservamos su carta original de entrada y fundación de 3 Marzo 1757." Peter M. Dunne, S.J., *Jacobo Sedelmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer, in Arizona and Sonora. Four Original Manuscript Narratives, 1744-1751* (Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1955), p. 12, evidently following Decorme, writes: ". . . Tucson in Arizona was founded on March 3, 1757, by Father Bernard Middendorf and his original letter of its establishment lies in the Mexican Jesuit Archives."

There is a copy of the letter in question in the University of San Francisco archives. Through the efforts of George B. Eckhart, a copy was secured and translated by Arthur Gardiner, as noted above (note 3), and the translation of the letter as well as a brief article about it appeared in the *Tucson Daily Citizen*, November 20, 1956. The letter concerns mainly Middendorff's experiences as field chaplain with Governor Mendoza prior to the time that Middendorff became missionary at Tucson, although he was its missionary at the time he penned the letter. The letter mentions that times are hard at Tucson and that there is a shortage of beef, which Father Caspar [Stieger] of San Ignacio had been supplying him. Middendorff says he would have written sooner [to the procurator in Mexico] had there been someone available to deliver a letter. The point is, nothing is said about the founding of Mission Tucson in this letter of 3 March 1757.

In the *Tagebuch* (note 3, above) Middendorff tells us that he arrived at Tucson the day before Epiphany, 1757. Hence, the founding of Mission Tucson must have taken place sometime in January, probably at the time the first Mass was celebrated. See below, p. 316 for Middendorff's own description of his short tour of duty in Tucson.

5. Cf. T. E. Treutlein, "Non-Spanish Jesuits in Spain's American Colonies" in *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (Berkeley, 1945).

6. The material which follows, pp. 312-17, is derived mainly from Middendorff's *Tagebuch*.

ing to the latter's frail health; he had suffered several times from hematemesis. However, Middendorff elected to go.

On Easter Day in 1755 he found himself in Spain, and on that day was informed that his mission area was to be in the Kingdom of New Spain. It was not until he had arrived in Sonora and was temporarily at Mission San Ignacio that he learned about his future assignment to be the missionary at a new mission, Tucson. This was in the year 1757, perhaps in the month of January.⁷

Father Middendorff's journey from central Europe to northwest Mexico had been a travel experience both lengthy and arduous; but it was also for him a time of preparation for the work he would have to do as a missionary. Certain details of the journey, now to be examined, bear out the latter conclusion. The beginning of the journey was a renunciation of a part of Middendorff's life — a farewell to relatives and friends and, one may say, even to Western civilization.

"On 29 May [1754] I took leave of the Jesuit house [near Münster]," says Middendorff, "and bade farewell to the Father Provincial [J. Schreiber], and to the Father Rector Distendorff, and to the rest of the fathers there. Then I proceeded via Warendorf to Vechte where I arrived on the first day of June and said goodbye to my dear father, my sisters, relatives and friends." From Vechte Middendorff went to Cologne where he was provided by the procurator of the province with travel money sufficient to reach Genoa and also the monies for necessary books, linen, and clothing.

In Siegburg he was joined by Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn, and in Würzburg by Fathers Michael Gerstner and Joseph

7. San Ignacio is situated slightly west of the Nogales-to-Hermosillo highway, about thirty miles south of Nogales.

The subject of establishing new missions was being mooted in December, 1756. Decorme, *ibid.*, p. 443, note 29, states that the original letter at Ysleta of P. Jacobo Sedelmayer, minister of Tecoripa, dated at Mátape where Sedelmayer was on a visita, addressed to the Father Procurator, Anton Johann Balthasar, 6 December 1756, speaks of there having arrived at Mátape Fathers Middendorff and Hlava and of the later arrival of three others, Getzner [sic], Kurtzel, and Paver. At the time the letter was written these five were at San Ignacio. The governor had restored San Javier Bac [sic] to P. Espinosa who had taken refuge in Tubac, and Middendorff had gone with the troops as far as the Gila River. "It is difficult to designate a mission for the new missionaries," writes Sedelmayer, "and a garrison is necessary on the Rio Gila." In this same letter, though Father Decorme does not quote the item, there is evidently reference to the plan of occupying "the advanced places of Tucson and Quiburi."

Och. These men now composed a quartette of traveling companions who went together all the way to Sonora missions with the exception of one leg of the journey.⁸

In Augsburg these future missionaries went shopping. They purchased, says Middendorff, knives, rings, mirrors, scissors, Jews' harps, needles, rosaries, beads, and other trinkets. Such articles were said to interest the American native, according to the reports of overseas missionaries whose letters had been read and discussed at table in the various Jesuit establishments of Europe.⁹

Later, when they had reached Spain, Middendorff and the others lived for a year in the Jesuit hospice in Puerto de Santa María, the port of Cádiz. Here they mingled with fellow-workers in the field; here they studied the Spanish language.¹⁰ One would wish for a record of some of the conversations that were had in this travel lodge about the voyage to New Spain, the land journey to Pimería Alta, the life in the missions. Such oral history is lacking, but we know that by accident or by design a year was spent in Puerto de Santa María — with some opportunities to travel elsewhere in the country — which could be counted as an apprentice year in travel and mission lore.

After a long sea voyage which had begun on December 24, 1755, and had ended with the securing of the ships on the great bronze rings of Fortress San Juan de Ullóa at Vera

8. On a single page of the *Libro de Bautizmos de la Mision de San Ygnacio*, Manuscript, Bancroft Library, appear the names of Bernardo Middendorff, 31 October 1756, Pfefferkorn, 4 December, Och, 5 December, and Gerstner, 8 December, as well as those of Francisco Hlawa and Gaspar Stiger. Father Stiger had hispanicized his to the extent shown (it was Caspar Stieger). Middendorff and Hlawa had hispanicized their first names. Middendorff in later years frequently dropped one *f* in his name. The members of the "quartette" all worked in Sonora missions. All were unhappy participants in the Jesuit expulsion; and all survived not only the journey back to Spain but also house arrest for a number of years in Spain (with the exception of Och who was sent directly home). All finally reached home after their release from Spain.

9. The letters of Jesuits to relatives, friends, and to their colleagues in the colleges of Europe form a very important body of travel literature. Some of these letters have been collected and published. One such collection is the work known as *Der neue Welt-Bott*. For example, three of Middendorff's own letters are to be found in this collection; namely, numbers 755, 756, and 757.

10. To the Latin-trained Jesuits, Spanish posed no difficulties. Father Joseph Och, *Reports* (p. 9 of typescript being prepared for publication), says of the Spanish language: "It is easy to learn, because the pronunciation differs very little from the written form. He who knows Latin can in twenty-four days learn to understand spoken Spanish and can read the necessary books. In four months he can speak the language."

Cruz on March 19, 1756, Middendorff and his companions enjoyed a rest stop. One of the officials who bade them welcome in Vera Cruz was Señor Tienda de Cuervo, Governor of Vera Cruz, who later followed them to Sonora to become the governor of that province.¹¹

From Vera Cruz Middendorff rode to Mexico via Jalapa and Puebla de los Angeles. The subsequent journey he made from Mexico to Sonora took him via Guadalajara, Tepic, Mazatlán, and coastal points north, whereas the other members of the original "quartette," who had been temporarily delayed in Puebla, went to Sonora over the plateau, moving west through the mountains just south of Chihuahua.

Father Middendorff now tells in his own words about his assignment to the Tucson mission :

We spent four months in going from Mexico to Sonora. The distance, however, from Mexico to Pimería Alta, or to the limit of Christendom, is six hundred or more leagues. After overcoming many dangers from raging rivers, rough roads, precipitous mountains, and poisonous animals, from frequent changes in the air and excessive heat, we arrived in September 1756 in Mátape, a mission in Sonora among the Lower Pimas where Father David Borio, a native of Turin in Savoy, received us with all conceivable affection.

Diarrhoea had spread among us, causing blisters or vesicles which burn the whole body with pain, and we were forced to halt for several days. After a stop of three weeks we continued our journey to Ures (among the Lower Pimas) where Father Philippus Segesser, from Lucerne in Switzerland, welcomed us with equal tokens of affection. From Ures we continued under heavy guard of loyal Indians and Spaniards, because of the attacks of Seris which had occurred, to Pimería Alta and Father Caspar Stieger, former minister in Switzerland and now missionary in the mission of San Ignacio, so as to procede from there to those places which our superiors would designate.

In November the Spanish soldiers took the field against

11. Middendorff, *Tagebuch*, refers to this man as Tienda de Cuervos; he was a Hollander by birth, had studied at Mecheln, and had served the Spanish king for fifteen years. His name in German was Krähenwinkel — crow's nook — and the Spanish form was a translation of this.

The Spanish Governors of Sonora during Middendorff's time there were Juan de Mendoza, 1755-60, José Tienda de Cuervo, 1761-63, and Juan de Pineda, 1763-1770.

the savages and barbarians and I was named army chaplain.¹² After a campaign of three months Tucson (in Pimería Alta) was named as my future mission. This place is situated five leagues north of Mission San Xavier del Bac.¹³ Some few Indians who had been baptized by Father Alonso Espinosa at San Xavier lived at Tucson among the heathen and the unconverted. It had been decided to found a new mission at Tucson to support and instruct those who were already Christians and to bring others who were not into the Christian belief. I went among them the day before Epiphany in 1757¹⁴ with ten soldiers for my security. I gave them gifts of dried meat to win their good-will and in this way attracted about seventy families which were scattered in the brush and hills.

I had neither house nor church and in the first days had to sleep under the open sky until I was able to erect a brush and willow hut for a lodging, five ells long, three wide, and two and a half high. I celebrated Mass under a matting or cover of rushes and reeds which had been raised on four poles in the field. Because I had not yet learned their language I had at first to instruct [the natives] through an interpreter.

I was fond of my catechumens and they reciprocated my affection with gifts of birds eggs and wild fruits. But our mutual contentment did not last long because in the following May [1757] we were attacked in the night by about five hundred savage heathen and had to withdraw as best we could. I with my soldiers and various families fled to Mission San Xavier del Bac where we arrived at daybreak.

So ended abruptly the Mission of San Agustín de Tucson, and so departed precipitously Tucson's first pioneer after a

12. That is, in the expedition led by the Governor, Juan de Mendoza, described in the letter of 3 March 1757 (notes 3 and 4, above). The governor later participated in another expedition, was wounded by a Seri arrow, and died of the poison inflicted in the wound.

13. In general, one should be warned to avoid taking statements about distances too literally. A Spanish league equals roughly four kilometers (i.e., 4,190 meters). Nicolás de LaFora who visited southern Arizona in 1767 made the following observation: ". . . el pueblo de Tucson, que dista veintitún leguas al norte de Tubac y cinco de San Javier del Bac que le precede, ambos habitados por indios pimas altos, administrados por un misionero que era de la Compañía y los más avanzados de toda la frontera, por los que se mantiene en ellos un pequeño destacamento de soldados y un cabo de la compañía de Tubac . . ." He also stated that the distance from Tucson to the Gila River was fifty leagues. See Nicolás de LaFora. *Relacion del Viaje que hizo a los Presidios Internos situados en la frontera de la America Septentrional. Perteneciente al Rey de España*. Vito Alessio Robles, ed. (Mexico, P. Robredo, 1939), p. 155. Father J. Nentwig, *Description*, considered the distance between Tucson and Bac to be three leagues, and located Tucson at 34°N. lat., 263°W. long.

14. Thus, on 5 January 1757.

short residence of some four months. We consider in brief what now became of Father Middendorff.

Next [he writes] I was overcome by hematemesis along with a persistent fever, wherefore my superiors sent me to Saric (among the Upper Pimas) where I met with Christians, though to be sure they were rebellious and treacherous. I was among them for fourteen months and had to look after four villages in a distance of seven to eight hours. Because I was constantly vexed with the fever and my strength failed to the point that my life was endangered I was sent to Batuco more than one hundred hours to the south, so that a change of air and a better way of living among the Indians would restore my health. And I did now encounter a healthy air and pious and gentle Indians of the Eudeve nation.

Father Alexander Rapicani was detached from this mission because of illness and sent to Matape; he had begun the building of a beautiful church, which I completed. After three years Father Rapicani was again in good health. Thereupon, he returned to his Batuco mission and I went to Mobas in Pimería Baja, about seventy hours south of Batuco, because the missionary there, Father Franziskus Franko, had died. And in this mission I remained until the year 1767 when on St. James' Day the decree of banishment of the Jesuits descended upon us and all had to leave.

The missionaries of Pimería Alta and Baja California, fifty-one in all, were assembled at Mátape, marched to Guaymas, and taken by ship from there to San Blas. Leaving San Blas they crossed Mexico to Vera Cruz, and then sailed via Havana to Spain. The entire journey from Sonora to Spain, including all stops because of illness or for resting, occupied about twenty-three months. They had left Mátape on August 25, 1767, and had sailed into the Port of Cádiz on July 10, 1769. Middendorff, along with many of his colleagues, now remained in Spain under house arrest for a number of years, but eventually his release was effected through intercession for him by no less a personage than Empress Maria Theresa.

It may be that a letter which the sisters of Middendorff wrote to the King of Spain also had something to do with his release. They begged that their beloved brother be returned to them and expressed their readiness to pay his travel costs.

Concerning the happy reunion of the missionary with members of his family we have no record ; his diary closes with the words: "The 29th of October [1776] I arrived in Bayonne. . . ." ¹⁵ Tucson's first pioneer was on his way home.

15. Part III of the Middendorff diary is an excellent account, at times very moving, of the Jesuit expulsion. The information about the appeal made by Middendorff's sisters for their brother's release is found in J. B. Mundwiler, S.J., "Deutsche Jesuiten in spanischen Gefängnissen im 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck, 1902).

THE JANOS, JOCOMES, MANSOS AND SUMAS INDIANS

By JACK DOUGLAS FORBES*

IN his *Memorial of 1630*, Father Alonso de Benavides remarks that in order to travel from Parral to New Mexico one must pass through the lands of several Indian tribes, among them being the Sumas and Hanos and other very ferocious tribes.¹ This is the first mention of the Hanos or Janos in Spanish documentary material, and it is rather interesting since, in a later period, the Janos were always located far to the northwest of the Parral-New Mexico route.

The next mention of the Janos is in connection with the general revolt of the tribes of northern Chihuahua which occurred in 1684. By that date a mission, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Janos, had been established; however, its location is in doubt. According to Charles W. Hackett and Charmion C. Shelby, Soledad “. . . among the Janos Indians . . .” was located about seventy leagues to the southwest of El Paso,² thus in the vicinity of the later presidio of Janos. However, Peter P. Forrestal, in a note attached to Benavides' *Memorial of 1630*, asserts that La Soledad de los Janos was near San Francisco de los Sumas.³ The latter mission was only a few leagues from El Paso. After the 1680's, however, the place-name of Janos definitely comes to be attached to the area of the presidio in western Chihuahua, and the Janos Indians seem to adhere to that same general vicinity.⁴

The entire territory supposedly occupied by the Janos was also occupied by the Sumas, and much later by the

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1. Alonso de Benavides, *Memorial of 1630*, tr. by Peter P. Forrestal (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1954), p. 9.

2. Charles W. Hackett and Charmion C. Shelby, Tr. and Ed., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians and Otermíns Attempted Reconquest, 1630-1632* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), p. cxviii.

3. Benavides, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11 note.

4. In 1683, the Mendoza-Lopez expedition noted a place called Nuestra Señora de la Soledad in Suma territory along the Rio Grande River; this further confounds the Janos and the Suma, of course.

Apaches. The early Franciscans and Jesuits in Sonora and in the Casas Grandes area do not mention the Janos at all. On the contrary, the entire area north and east of the Opatería (Opata-land) was said to be occupied by the Sumas of the north and the Sumas of the east. In the 1640's and 1650's many of these wild Sumas were partially missionized by the fathers of Sonora, and in the 1660's missions were established for them at Casas Grandes, Carretas, Torreon and San Francisco de los Sumas near El Paso. The location of Carretas seems to have been on or near the Rio Carretas which is north of the presidio and town of Janos. The *Rudo Ensayo* definitely assigns Carretas to the Suma nation.⁵ Thus it is clear that the area known by the place-name "Janos" was well within the territory of the Sumas.

An explanation may well be that "Janos" refers to a locality, or village, and that the Janos Indians were Sumas who lived in the vicinity of, or at, "Janos." This explanation is borne out by the fact that Father Eusebio Kino speaks of the Hocomes, Xanos Sumas, Mansos and Apaches and then a little later speaks of the Hocomes, Sumas, Mansos and Apaches.⁶ It is possible that Kino meant to place a comma between Xanos and Sumas; however, the fact that he doesn't mention the Xanos at all, but only the Sumas, a few lines later, would seem to indicate that he really meant the Sumas of Janos. At any rate, this is only a clue, for Kino at other times refers to the Janos and Sumas as if they were separate groups.

The evidence is overwhelming, however, that the Sumas and the Janos occupied the same territory during the period 1630-1684. In August, 1680, two Jumas (Sumas) Indians were arrested for plotting a revolt and the cause of the trouble was a mulatto who was on the Rio de los Janos. (The Mulatto servant had cut off an Indian's ears, it seems.) In other words, we find Sumas Indians causing trouble on the

5. *Rudo Ensayo*, tr. by Eusebio Guiteras (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1951), p. 115.

6. Eusebio Kino, *Las Misiones de Sonora y Arizona* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1918-1922), p. 61.

Rio de los Janos, thus confirming the view that the area of Janos, *i. e.*, the area of the Janos Indians, was occupied in 1680, as in the 1640's and 1650's, by Sumas Indians.

After the general revolt of the 1680's, the Sumas gradually disappear from the western half of Chihuahua. The Janos Indians continue to be mentioned until 1710, although references to them are sparse after 1701. In 1706 a "new conversion of the Xanos" in the El Paso area is mentioned, but generally, after the 1680's, the Janos are located in association with the Jocomes in the Chiricahua Mountain area of southeastern Arizona. In all probability the Janos Indians, *i. e.*, the Sumas of the Janos River area, retired to the north after the failure of their revolt of 1684-1686. Thus they were generally known as "Janos" until the early 1700's, gradually merging into the Chiricahua Apache (along with the Jocomes) after about 1710. The fact that the Sumas cease to be mentioned in western Chihuahua after 1698 or so may possibly be explained by the fact that those who remained in revolt were called by other names, *i. e.*, Apaches, Janos and Jocomes, and that those who made peace and were missionized merged into the Hispano-Mexican population and lost their tribal identity.

The problem of determining the tribal identity of the Janos is intimately connected with the problem of identifying the group known variously as the Ojcome, Hocome, Jcome, Jocomes, Jocomis, and Jacones. Unlike the Janos the Jocomes were generally assigned a definite homeland, it being the territory between the Sobaipuris settlements of the San Pedro River valley and the Chiricahua Mountains, and between the Gila River valley and the northern border of Opatería.

The Jocomes are first mentioned in connection with the general revolt of 1684-1686, despite the fact that both Franciscans and Jesuits had been in northern Sonora and Chihuahua from the 1640's. For forty years, instead of the Jocomes one finds that the Sumas or the Sumas of the north are the next group above Opatería. Fray Alegre reports in 1649 or 1650, for example, that the Suma or Yuma, ". . . a

numerous and fierce nation, had kept in continuous unrest the Franciscan missionaries who were laboring in the district of Teuricachi."⁷ In 1653, or thereabouts, it was reported that the Cuquiarachi-Teuricachi-Huachinera district (in other words, northern Opatería) was bordered both on the north and on the east by the Sumas. It is further stated that the ". . . Suma of the north are being reached by the light of the Gospel with our entry into Teuricachi . . .,"⁸ thus clearly implying that Opatería was bordered by Sumas on the north, *i.e.*, in what was to be Jocome territory by the 1680's.

Thus the Jocome problem is similar to that of the Janos, both being involved with the Suma. An explanation may well be that the Sumas of the north simply became known as the Jocomes, the Sumas of the east became known as the Janos, and the Sumas of the El Paso-Rio Grande area continued to be known as Sumas. However, it is also possible that the Sumas of the north were effectively missionized in Opata villages and that the Jocomes drifted southward into the aboriginal Sumas territory. The likelihood of this latter possibility is minimized by other evidence, as we shall see.

In the 1680's, 1690's and early 1700's, the Jocomes were always closely associated with the Janos, Apaches, and Sumas in warfare against the Spanish and their allies in Sonora and Chihuahua. In fact, the Jocomes are almost always coupled with the Janos and the Apache. Francisco del Castillo Betancourt, in a letter of July 16, 1686, makes this union (with the Janos) complete when he says that he had an interpreter for Jano and Ojocome ". . . all of which is one language."⁹ Thus it can be established that the Janos (*i.e.*, the Sumas, if the foregoing explanation is correct) and the Jocomes were of the same linguistic affinity.

The Jocomes, as was previously stated, occupied the territory directly north of Opatería, east of the San Pedro River valley and had their chief headquarters in the Chiricahua

7. Carl Sauer, "The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in North Western Mexico," in *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. V (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934), p. 70.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 71, quoted from the *Relacion del Estado* of the missions mentioned.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 75. The letter is from the Parral Archives.

Mountains. In 1695, Kino reports that, in order to reach Pimería Alta, the garrison of Xanos had to pass through the lands of the Hocomes and Xanos and that “. . . in those lands, in the Serro de Chiguicagui, they found almost all the spoils of . . . many robberies . . . [and that] among these Hocomes were found the spoils . . .” of a Spanish soldier who had been their prisoner.¹⁰ The Sierra of Chiricahua continued to be a stronghold of the Jcome until the early 1700's when it became an Apache stronghold.

Teniente don Cristóbal Martín Bernal, in the report of his expedition to the San Pedro River valley in 1697, definitely locates several Jcome villages to the east of that valley. One of them was due east of Aribabia (Arivaipa) and had been abandoned. Another had been located up the valley of Babioida where a group of Sobaipuris had been living in common with the Jcome.¹¹ This is interesting because the territory so described was, at a later date, the home of the Apache, and more significantly of the Chiricahua Apache. The latter were so-called because they had their major stronghold in the Chiricahua Mountains, as did the Jcome. Thus it would seem plausible that the Jcome were the Chiricahua and that the latter name, along with Apache, simply came to replace “Jcome” after 1710 or thereabouts.

If this explanation is correct, that is, if the Jcome were Apache, then the Janos would also be an Athabascan-speaking group and, probably, the Sumas would be one as well. Since it has commonly been thought, by Carl Sauer and others, that the Sumas were non-Athabascan, it would be well to examine this problem still further.

In 1698, Captain de la Fuente of the presidio of Janos carried on peace negotiations with the united Jano and Jcome and with some Sumas. De la Fuente remarks that “. . . otherwise they have relations only with two *other* rancherías of Apache, who also desire to make peace.” The word “other” implies that the above tribes were also Apache; but de la

10. Eusebio Kino, *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, ed. by Herbert E. Bolton (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), Vol. I, p. 145.

11. Fernando Ocaranza, *Parva Cronica de la Sierra Madre y las Pimerias* (Mexico: Editorial Stylo, 1942), p. 40.

Fuente goes on to add that a deerskin was produced by a Jocomé as a peace token. The deerskin was variously decorated and was sent by ". . . the chief of his nation and those of the Jano, Suma, Manso, Apache . . ." and others. On the deerskins were designs representing six *tiendas* of the Apache nation and 120 marks painted in the mode of wigwams (*jacales*) in four divisions to represent four villages of Janos, Jacomés, "Mansos" and Sumas.¹² This is significant since the ceremonial deerskin was, and is, used frequently by the southern Athabascan tribes.

The identity of the Jocomé with the Chiricahua Apache is definitely established, however, by the fact that Jocomé appears to be a Spanish derivation from the Apache name of one of the Chiricahua bands, the precise band which occupied the same territory assigned to the Jocomé. This group of Apache called themselves Cho-kon-nen or Cho-kon-e. The Spanish commonly substituted the letters X, H and J for the guttural Indian CH and thus Chokone would have been rendered Hokone, Xokone or Jocone.¹³ This corresponds closely with the Hispanic Jacone and Jocomé. Thus the Jocomé and the Jano are established as being Athabascan-speaking people.

It has been shown previously that the Sumas were confounded with the Janos, and that the latter probably were a local branch of the Sumas. Likewise it has been shown that the Sumas were confounded with the Jocomés. Therefore, it would seem likely, at this point, that the Sumas were also an Athabascan-speaking group. However, an examination of this problem will be dealt with subsequently.

The Mansos have already been mentioned in connection with the foregoing tribes with whom they were in close alliance during the 1680's and 1690's. The fact that the Mansos

12. Carl Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

13. For example, we find the word Jumano being rendered variously Choma, Chomas, Xumano, Xumanes, Jumano, Jumanes etc. See Herbert E. Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771," in *Texas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 1, July 1911, p. 77, and France V. Scholes and H. P. Mera, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem," in *Contributions to American Anthropology and History* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1940), Vol. VI, pp. 265-299.

were always closely involved with the Jocomes, Janos, Sumas and Apaches might be enough to link them with the latter; however, because it has commonly been supposed that they were non-Athabaskan, more evidence is necessary.

The Mansos appear to have inhabited the Rio Grande River valley from the area of El Paso north to Las Cruces. They may have been known in 1582 by the name "Tampachoa," however, the first positive mention of them is by Juan de Oñate. He referred to them as Mansos because of the Indians' attempt at saying that they were friends and peaceful. Thus "Manso" was never a tribal name and was evidently used to refer to only a few rancherías of Indians in the El Paso area.¹⁴ Benavides, in 1630, described these Indians as being nomadic and non-agricultural. Thus, culturally, the Mansos were set off from the Pueblo tribes and from the Uto-Aztecs of northern Mexico and were related to the nomadic Athabascans.

Missionary work among the El Paso natives was attempted several times. In 1659 Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos was established. It appears that the natives were gradually "civilized" until the 1680's. In 1684-1686 the Mansos became involved in the general northern revolt and are mentioned as being allies of the Janos, Jocomes, Apaches and Sumas until at least 1698.

Aside from the fact that the Mansos were allied culturally and militarily with the Athabascans, we have only a few indications regarding their ethnic affinity. Two letters of Governor Vargas of New Mexico, written from El Paso in 1691 and 1692, are significant. Vargas says that the Sumas, the ranchería of Mansos under their captain who was called "*El Chiquito*," and the Apaches of the Sierra de Gila were the greatest trouble-makers in the vicinity of El Paso. He further states that "all [of the above tribes] were in communication with the Mansos, who had left when the presidio was established at El Paso in 1683, but who had since been

14. Bandelier held that the Manso were originally from Las Cruces and were moved to El Paso during missionization. However, Benavides and Oñate (1630 and 1598) clearly show that the Mansos were living at El Paso in aboriginal times.

converted . . . and settled near the church of San Francisco de los Mansos, 8 or 9 leagues from El Paso. The Apaches often visited them in groups of 2, 4 and 6, and it was quite customary for them to inter-marry, as was also the case with the Sumas. The Sumas of Guadalupe and Ojito were the scourge of the entire region."¹⁵

The above statement of Vargas not only reveals that a very close relationship existed between the Apaches, Mansos and Sumas, but it also mentions San Francisco de los Mansos (which earlier was known as San Francisco de los Sumas) and the Sumas of Guadalupe, which place was previously a Mansos mission. Thus it seems that the Sumas and Mansos were confounded with each other in 1692.

Of more significance is a letter of Father Marcos de Loyola of Chinapa (Sonora) to Vargas written in 1691. Father Loyola asked for help in pacifying the hostile Jocomes, Janos and Sumas, but more significantly he asked ". . . for one or two Manso Indians from El Paso. These had authority over the Janos and Jocomes. Two Spanish-speaking Mansos might be used to advantage on embassies of peace to negotiate with the enemy. On March 20, six Mansos with provisions and beasts of burden were on their way to Chinapa." They reached Janos on April 16, 1691, and ". . . with their assistance it was discovered that the Apaches of the Sierra de Gila, confederates of the Janos, Jocomes, Pimas, Sobas and Sumas were the trouble-makers." The Mansos ". . . were unable to negotiate with the uncompromising Apaches, and the plan to use them as mediators was abandoned."¹⁶

The above information is, of course, good evidence that the Manso language was Athabascan. Father Loyola and the other Spaniards seem to have felt that *any* Manso, so long as he spoke Spanish, could be used. Thus, either all Mansos were bilingual in the several Indian dialects or else the dialects of the Jocomes, Janos, Sumas and Gila Apaches were close to, or identical with, Manso. The statement by Father Loyola

15. José Manuel Espinosa, "The Legend of Sierra Azul," in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. IX, No. 2, April, 1934, pp. 127-128.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

that the Mansos had authority over the Janos and Jocomes clearly implies a tribal relationship. We may conclude that the Mansos, along with the Janos and Jocomes, were of Athabaskan stock.

The evidence seems to link the Mansos with the Sumas as well as with the Janos, Jocomes and Apaches, and it may be possible that the Mansos were simply Sumas living in the El Paso area. If this is the case, then the Rio Grande Sumas may well be an Athabaskan group since the Sumas of Sonora and western Chihuahua have already been linked with the Jocomes and Janos. Kino gives some evidence in support of this when he wrote, in 1698, that for more than fifteen years the “. . . jocomes, janos, yumas mansos y apaches . . .” had made war upon Sonora.¹⁷ Now the question is — what does Kino mean by yumas mansos? He may mean Sumas who are tame or missionized, but this is unlikely if they have been waging war for fifteen years. In all probability it refers to Sumas who are also called Mansos (in El Paso?), thus linking the two groups together.¹⁸

It is also clear that “yumas mansos” is no error in punctuation since the same phrase is used elsewhere by Kino and others. In a letter from Kino to Father-Visitor Horacio Polici the former states that he hopes to get a Pima-Sobaipuris alliance against not only the “. . . jacones indians, but also their allies the janos, the apaches and the yumas mansos.”¹⁹ Material from the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico corroborates this. The material reports that “It makes fifteen years that the jacones indians, janos, apaches, the yumas indians named mansos [yumas titulados mansos], maintain their hostility, their robberies . . .” etc.²⁰ This indicates that the Sumas referred to were known as Mansos for it would

17. Eusebio Kino, “Breve Relacion,” in *Documentos Para La Historia de Mexico* (Mexico: Vicente Garcia Torres, 1856), Tomo Primero, Tercera Serie, p. 810.

18. The name “Yumas” was used in the 1600’s to refer to the Sumas. [The Yuma Indians of the Colorado River were never known as such until the 1690’s.] Alegre, in 1649 or 1650, refers to “the Suma, or, according to other manuscripts, Yuma . . .” (See Sauer, *op. cit.*, p. 70). The Sumas were also known as the Zuma and Juma at various times.

19. Fernando Ocaranza, *Parva Cronica de la Sierra Madre y las Pimerias*, p. 66. From “Cartas del Kino al P. Visitador d. Horacio Polici, MS. T. 16-AGN-Historia.”

20. Ocaranza, *ibid.*, p. 53.

hardly make sense to translate the passage as "the yumas indians named (or entitled) tame." At any rate, when coupled with the other evidence, the above indicates a connection between the Sumas and the Mansos.

Evidence has already been presented which leads one to suspect that the Sumas were an Athabascan-speaking people closely associated with the Apaches, Janos, Jocomes and Mansos, and if it were not for the fact that Carl Sauer, France V. Scholes and others have supposed that they were Uto-Aztecan the discussion might well end here. However, the arguments and evidence of Sauer and Scholes must be considered since these two scholars have done much work in the north Mexican-New Mexican area.

Carl Sauer's argument is historical in nature and rests primarily upon the reports of the Espejo expedition of 1582. The latter group traveled to the junction of the Conchos and Rio Grande rivers and thence along the Texas side of the latter river to the El Paso area. The several accounts differ in detail (*i.e.*, the Luxan account and the Espejo account); however, one can gather a certain amount of fairly reliable information. It seems that after leaving the territory of the Tobosos,²¹ the party reached a group of Indians, housed in five settlements, known variously as the Patarabueys, the Otomaoco and, by Espejo, the Jumanos. The group then traveled some forty or forty-five leagues up the Texas bank of the Rio Grande, meeting various groups of Otomaoco or related Indians. Then followed eight leagues through Caguetes or Caguase territory (a group related, it seems, to the Otomaoco) and thence ten leagues to the territory of a different group, the Tanpachoa.

Sauer reasons that since the Conchos Indians lived along the Conchos River to its junction with the Rio Grande at a later time, and since the Espejo-Luxan records indicate the

21. The Tobosos have been classified tentatively as Athabascan. If this is correct then the Sauer-Scholes Uto-Aztecan theory would be rather difficult to accept because it would place a Uto-Aztecan group in the middle of Athabascan territory. Since these groups were nomadic, such a situation would be difficult to account for.

same language group at the junction and for some fifty leagues up the Rio Grande, the people, *i.e.*, the Sumas and the Jumanos, who later lived on the Rio Grande below El Paso, must have been linguistic relatives of the Conchos. Actually very little is known of the Conchos, but three words (for corn, water and each other) which have been recorded indicate a Uto-Aztecán affinity.²² From this, Sauer concludes that the Patarabueys-Otomaoco, the Jumanos and the Suma were probably Uto-Aztecán.²³

The above argument fails, however, because the Patarabueys-Otomaoco lived at the junction of the Rio Grande and the Conchos rivers, and along the Texas bank of the former for some fifty leagues. The Sumas on the other hand lived on the Chihuahua bank and did not reside near the junction, as far as is known. It seems that both Scholes and Sauer assume that after sixty leagues of travel, the Espejo group was in the El Paso area; however, Alonso de Posada (1686) gives the distance from Guadalupe (El Paso) to the junction as 100 leagues, and this is confirmed by other sources.²⁴ Thus the Espejo group was only half-way to El Paso when it left Otomaoco territory. In other words, the territory of the Otomaoco does in no way correspond to Sumas territory as it was commonly known. Rather, the Tanpachoa may be said to have lived on that part of the Texas bank which was opposite the Sumas side of the Chihuahua bank. Thus, in all probability, if any of these early groups relate to the Sumas it would be the Tanpachoa, and even Sauer indicates that the latter had a different language and culture from the Otomaoco.²⁵

Sauer, however, maintains that the Sumas were merely western Jumanos, and by relating the Jumanos to the Uto-Aztecans he links the Sumas to that linguistic family. The Jumano problem is too complex to be dealt with fully here, but the question cannot be ignored, and the connection between the Jumano and the Suma should be examined.

22. A. L. Kroeber, "Uto-Aztecán Languages of Mexico," in *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. VIII, 1934, pp. 13-15. Kroeber says that none of the known Suma and Jumanos words are ". . . patently Uto-Aztecán."

23. Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

24. Alonso de Parades, "Útiles y Curiosas Noticias del Nuevo Mexico," in *Documentos Para La Historia de Mexico*, *op. cit.*, Tomo Primero, Tercera Serie, p. 213.

25. Sauer, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

It seems that Espejo links the Jumano of the Pecos River (a buffalo-hunting group living in wigwams) with the Otonaoco-Patarabueys of the junction area while Luxan maintains a distinction between the two. It is certain that, culturally, the two groups were distinct, and since Luxan and Espejo disagree it is hard to see how the Jumano can be said to be Uto-Aztecan, especially since the word "Jumano" was later used to refer to peoples speaking Piro, Athabascan or Yuman, and possibly Caddoan dialects. Likewise, the connection between the Sumas and the Jumano is rather slim. The Spanish occasionally referred to a group known as the Sumana or Zumana and Sauer attempts to show that Suma and Jumano are forms of the same word. Such may be the case; however, until the Jumano are identified and as long as other evidence points to an Athabascan affinity for the Sumas, it would seem useless to suppose that a Suma-Jumano identity would prove anything.²⁶

The Espejo expedition of 1582 and the Chamuscado expedition of 1581 are actually very poor bases for any arguments relating to the identification of tribal groups. The Luxan and Espejo accounts of the 1582 journey differ in important details and it is really impossible to say which one is more reliable; furthermore, the information given by Baltasar de Obregon contradicts not only Espejo and Luxan but Sauer as well. In regard to the Chamuscado expedition of 1581 Obregon clearly states that the people of the junction of the Conchos River and the Rio Grande had a different language and different customs from the Conchos.²⁷ He further indi-

26. It may be that the Jumano of Texas were Athabascan. The description of the Pecos River Jumano of 1582 certainly corresponds to a description of the Lipan Apache, and the entire territory of the southern Jumano was later Apache territory. Likewise, in Texas, the Spanish often referred to the Apaches Jumanes in the 1730's and 1740's. See Herbert E. Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650-1771," *Texas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV., No. 1, July, 1911. Thus the Jumano whom Sauer was trying to relate to the Suma may have been, and probably were, Athabascan. The word Jumano, in its various forms, was used by the Spanish to refer to many different groups. The above analysis refers, however, only to the Jumano of Texas, mentioned off and on from 1582 to 1771. By 1773, the Jumano of Texas had come to be regarded as a part of the Apache.

27. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Tr. and Ed., *Obregon's History* (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., Inc., 1928), p. 276.

cates the same in regard to the Espejo journey.²⁸ Thus we have definite evidence here that if the Conchos were Uto-Aztecan (as seems likely) then the Otomaoco-Patarabueys-Jumano of the junction were certainly *not*. It seems then that the Sauer-Scholes thesis of a Conchos-Jumano-Sumas linguistic identity is an impossibility. This without even taking into consideration the great ambiguity connected with the whole Jumano tribal theory.²⁹

As has been previously pointed out, the Sumas were almost always in close alliance with the Apaches.³⁰ Spanish documents refer to cooperation between the two above groups beginning with 1682 and ending about 1773. In 1682, Governor Otermín believed that the Sumas were maintaining treasonable relationships with the Apache. This belief was confirmed by the discovery of Sumas holding "friendly conversations" with some Apaches at an Apache "rancho."³¹ This is the earliest reference to Apache activity in Chihuahua and of Sumas friendship with them. The close alliance of the two groups was very much in evidence throughout the 1680's and 1690's, as has been indicated.

After the subsidence of the turmoil created by the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and its successors, the northern revolts of 1684 and 1690, many of the Sumas gradually made peace and some of them were settled at the Real of San Lorenzo and at Nuestra Señora del Socorro, both near El Paso. in 1706,

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.

29. As indicated previously, to prove that some group is related to the Jumano really proves nothing since there never was any one Jumano tribe. The term was used to refer to several distinct groups, i. e., the Piro-Jumanos-Pueblos, the Jumanos-Apaches of Texas, the Jumanos of the plains (Wichitas?) and the Jumanas of the Sierra de Azul (Yavapai or Apache). Thus the term "Jumano" evidently never meant a tribe, but rather referred to a cultural phenomenon probably meaning "painted people" or *Rayados*. "*Rayados*" was often used interchangeably with "Jumanos" by early Spanish writers.

30. The Mendoza expedition to the Jumanos in 1683 noted that some of the Sumas of the Rio Grande were having trouble with the "Hapaches." The latter were probably Apaches of Texas who often fought against other Apache groups. See Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 321.

31. In connection with the above, in 1682, a Jumano who had been a prisoner of the Apaches fled to the Sumas because his language was similar to the latter. Since the identity of the Jumano referred to is unknown, the information sheds little light upon the Suma, although it may indicate that some Jumano were Athabaskan. See Scholes and Mera, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

it was mentioned that many Sumas were coming in to settle down and that both Piros and Sumas were already settled at Socorro.

The situation from 1706 to 1773 is not altogether clear. It seems that in 1712, from 1745 to 1751, in 1752 and again in 1772 or 1773 the Sumas, who were settled near El Paso, revolted against the Spanish and joined the Apaches and non-converted Sumas in order to harass Chihuahua. On the other hand, it appears that many Sumas were constantly at war with the Spanish and were never settled in mission-villages. In 1754, Don Thomás Vélez Cachupín said: "These horses of the Natageses [Apaches] are those which they steal in company with the Sumas and Faraones [Apaches] in La Vizcaya and Sonora." He further wants to keep the Carlanas [Jicarilla Apaches] from uniting with the Natageses because "In such case, the Natageses, strengthened by the support and cunning of the Plains Apaches, would develop among the Sumas the greatest boldness, which would result in the total ruin of the frontiers of La Vizcaya and the Real of Chihuahua."³²

Thus Cachupín clearly implies that in 1754 the Sumas were a large enough group to endanger Chihuahua while in 1744 it was recorded that only fifty families of Zumas were at San Lorenzo.³³ It appears then that the majority of Sumas were probably still nomadic and non-converted in the 1740's and 1750's. More significantly, Cachupín definitely mentions the Sumas as if they were merely one among several Apache groups, not treating them any differently than the Faraones, Natageses, Carlanas and Cuartelejos, all of the latter being known Apache groups.

Another connection between the Sumas and the Apaches is seen in 1725 when Benito, the Bishop of Durango, conferred with ". . . the principal chiefs of the Zuma nation which is so extensive that it occupies more than a hundred

32. Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 136.

33. Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico . . .* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), Vol. III, p. 406.

leagues in circumvallation without any fixed settlements."³⁴ This statement was made in reference to the El Paso area. In the same year, all of the territory to the north, east and, perhaps, west of El Paso was occupied by several Apache groups. (The actual Sumas territory was to the south of El Paso.) Thus it appears that the Bishop denoted Apache territory as being within the "Zuma nation."

The above statement coupled with the Cachupín information establishes the fact that in the 1720's and 1750's the Sumas were still thought of as being a sizeable tribe in Chihuahua and New Mexico. However, Juan A. Baltasar, writing in 1752 from the Sonora-Pimería Alta point of view, says:

It is certain that in times past the three first nations [jocomes, xamos, summas] were sufficiently well-known, more than now, or they have become consumed, or the little that has remained has been incorporated and confounded with the name of apaches. It isn't known if in some time they were converted, nor if their inconstancy in the faith has won them the name of apostates, *como publica el vulgo.*"³⁵

Thus in the 1750's, the Sumas of the west had become incorporated under the name of Apaches, while the Sumas of the east were in alliance with the Apaches of that area. The above fact, coupled with the arguments and evidence of the previous pages, indicates the likelihood of an Athabascan linguistic affiliation for the Sumas, especially since it has already been demonstrated for the Janos and Jocomes. Miguel O. de Mendizabal, the author of *La Evolucion del Noroeste de Mexico*, definitely states that the Apaches, Hocomes, Janos and Sumas are all of Athabascan ethnic affiliation, thus agreeing with the above thesis; however, he offers no documentation to reinforce the view.³⁶

A final and absolute determination of the linguistic affiliation of the Sumas will have to await the uncovering of

34. Sauer, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

35. Juan A. Baltasar, "De Nuevos Progressos," in *Apostolicos Afanes* (Mexico: Luis Alvarez y Alvarez de la Cadeva, 1944), p. 423.

36. Miguel O. de Mendizabal, *La Evolucion del Noroeste de Mexico* (Mexico: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional, 1930), pp. 115, 116, 120.

further evidence, of course; but, on the basis of the above summary and because of certain cultural evidence one must, for the present, assign an Athabascan identity to the tribe.³⁷

37. Bandelier noted in 1888 that one "Suma" remained at El Paso. There Bandelier gathered that the Sumas had been matrilineal (which agrees with the Apaches). He also learned of a war ceremony of the Sumas which was said to resemble a similar Apache dance. A. F. Bandelier, "Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States," in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American Series III (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1890), pp. 87, 89 note.

Since this article was written, several new pieces of evidence have been read. A map of 1735 by Mathew Lentter mentions the "Apaches Hojomes," the "Janos Sumas" (Janos Sumas), and the "Sumas Jumanes," thus linking the Apaches, Hocomes and Sumas, as well as the southern Jumanes (who were known as Apaches Jumanes in Texas and northern Mexico from at least 1729). Likewise, a statement by Governor Don Antonio de Otermín in 1683 indicates that the Mansos spoke the same language as the Janos. *New Mexico Archives, 1621-1683*, doc. 16. Coronado Library, University of New Mexico.—J. D. F.

CORDERO'S DESCRIPTION OF THE APACHE — 1796¹

Edited by DANIEL S. MATSON AND
ALBERT H. SCHROEDER

THE tribes of whom we have been speaking are already more or less civilized and it may be said that they form part of the population of Mexico; the Apaches on the contrary however, in devastating and continuous war with our establishments; without ever having been led to Christianity; with no hope of destroying them either by means of arms or preaching because the presidios and the missionaries have all disappeared together; the Apaches, we repeat, are for Mexico nothing but a constant and disastrous peril; a nation which invades and wipes out our territory; savages in their primitive form; such as ought not to be found here more than three centuries after the discovery of America. On this account we prefer to treat of them in a separate article.

To do this with exactness, we are going to copy a manuscript which bears the title: "Year 1796 — Notes about the Apache Nation composed in the Year 1796 by Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Cordero in El Paso del Norte by Order of the Commandant, General Field Marshal Don Pedro de Nava."

We take the copy from the original draft of the author, which exists in a volume of manuscripts bearing the title — "Historical Documents Concerning Durango" — and which

1. This material, from Chapter XXV, entitled "Apaches", of Manuel Orozco y Berra's work of 1864, *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México* was translated by Matson and annotated by Schroeder. We wish to express our gratitude for the late Dr. F. W. Hodge's critical reading of the text and notes. Don Antonio Cordero had first hand experience with the Apache, having taken part in several campaigns against them in the 1780's and 90's. As indicated in "Ex Libris y Bibliotecas de México" by Felipe Teixidor, Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1931 (Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, No. 20), Cordero's original manuscript became a part of the José Ramírez collection. Ramírez had collected two important libraries, one in Durango, which he later sold, and the second in Mexico City, which was acquired at his death by D. Alfredo Chavero who used the material in his historical and bibliographical studies. He later sold the collection to D. Manuel Fernández del Castillo on the condition it should not leave Mexico. Some years later, however, persuaded by P. Fischer, the collection was sold in London. A copy of the "Catalogo Ramirez," made by D. J. M. Andrade, listed the items put up for sale by Quaritch, and through his representative, Mr. Stephens, Hubert H. Bancroft bought portions of the collection, as described in *Literary Industries*, pages 105-106. The original is now in the Bancroft Library.

belongs to the collection of the Licenciado Don Jose Fernando Ramirez.

Let us bear in mind that this memorial was published in a political era. It is understood that the life of those loose pages is no more than a day; that political concerns have the effect that importance is not attributed to anything else, and consequently the notes of which we treat, although very important, have been passed by unheeded, and one may almost be sure that they today see the light for the first time.

Cordero served from early youth in Presidio troops, he fought the savages for the space of many years, knew their language, and had had dealings and contacts with them; knew them in all their phases and no other could speak like him with such aptitude and exactness.

The manuscript runs as follows:

"The Apache Nation is one of the savage [nations] of North America bordering on the interior provinces of New Spain.

"They are spread out in a vast space of the afore-mentioned continent from degrees 30 to 38 of north latitude and 264 to 277 of longitude from Tenerife.²

"They can be divided into nine groups or principal tribes and various adjacent ones, taking their names now from the mountains and rivers of the region, now from the fruits and animals which are most abundant. The names they have for themselves are the following: Vinni ettinen-ne, Segatajen-ne, Tjuiccujen-ne, Iccujen-ne, Yntajen-ne, Sejen-ne, Cuelcajen-ne, Lipajen-ne, and Yutajen-ne,³ for which the Spaniards substitute naming them in the same order, Tontos, Chiricaguís, Gileños, Mimbrenos, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes and Navajós, and all under the generic name of Apaches.

"They speak the same language and although the accent varies as well as one or the other local word, this difference does not prevent them from understanding each other. This

2. Tenerife is the largest of the Canary Islands which is situated a fraction under 17° west of Greenwich. The spread of 13° in the east-west range of the Apache is quite accurate — 98° to 111° west of Greenwich today.

3. The Apache call the Navajo Yutaha, which means "live far up." The *jen-ne* at the end of each name is one of various forms of *tinne* or *dine*, the word meaning people.

language, in spite of its peculiarity and guttural pronunciation, is not as difficult as the first impression would indicate, and as the ear becomes used to it, a certain sweetness is found in its words and cadence. It is deficient in expressions and words, and this gives rise to a boresome repetition which makes conversation extremely diffuse. By means of a grammar and vocabulary it would be easy to learn if certain signs would be used to indicate the clicking of the tongue and throat necessary for the pronunciation of some words, which even the Apaches themselves pronounce with difficulty.⁴

"At present they do not compose one nation of uniform customs, usages and tastes. They are alike in many of their inclinations; but they vary in others in accordance with the locality of their residence and their needs, and the more or less contact they have had with Spaniards. A general idea of what is common to all of them will be given, after which we will speak in detail of each one of the groups mentioned.

"The Apache recognizes the existence of a Supreme Being, a Creator, under the name of Yastasitasitan-ne or Captain of Heaven; but he lacks the ideas of his being a rewarder or punisher. On this account he gives him no worship at all, nor likewise does he give it to any of the other creatures which he understands were made by him for his diversion and entertainment. Those who are living he believes are fated to die after a certain time, just as he believes of his own existence. From this it follows that easily forgetting the past, and without any uneasiness concerning the future, the present alone is what affects and concerns him. However, he wishes to be in agreement with the evil spirit, on whom he believes depends his prosperity and adversity, and this furnishes him with food for infinite nonsense.⁵

4. This is a very doubtful statement, although it may have seemed to the writer that the Apache had difficulty in speaking their own (Athapascan) language. A good idea of the difficulties of recording the Athapascan language can be gained by consulting the works of the Fathers of St. Michaels, Arizona, treating with the Navajo language.

5. (This is a footnote contained in Cordero's manuscript). "Imbued with these ideas they attribute to an Indian who is taciturn, gloomy and mysterious the faculty of divination. He adopts it as his own for the profit which results to him from it; he gives ambiguous answers to the questions asked him, and on account of this practice he comes to persuade himself and the others to believe that he is the oracle of his people. The practice of medicine is also connected with this exercise; to the application of certain

"Having been born and raised in the open country and strengthened by simple foods, the Apache is endowed with an extraordinary robustness which makes him almost insensible to the rigors of the seasons. The continuous movement in which he lives, moving his camp from one to the other location for the purpose of obtaining new game and the fruits which are indispensable for his subsistence, makes him agile and nimble in such a degree that he is not inferior in speed and endurance to horses, and certainly is superior to them when in rugged and rocky territory. The vigilance and care with which he watches out for his health and preservation likewise stimulates him to change camps frequently in order to breathe new air, and so that the place he evacuates may be cleansed, his care for the health of his camp even goes to such an extreme that he will abandon those who are gravely ill when he judges that they may infect the rest.

"He is extremely gluttonous when he has provisions in abundance, while in times of calamity and scarcity he bears hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, without losing his fortitude. Besides the meat which is supplied by his continuous hunting and cattle stealing in the territories of his enemy, his regular food consists of the wild fruits which his territories produce. And these, as well as the variety of game, differ in the various regions they inhabit; but there are some which are common to all of them.

"So far as game is concerned, it is the burro [*bura*], deer, antelope, bear, wild pig [*jabali*], panther [*leopardo* — possibly the mountain lion], and porcupine. The common fruits are the tuna, the datil, the pitaya,⁶ the acorn, and the piñon; but their principal delicacies are the mescal. There are various kinds taken from the hearts of the maguey, sotol, pal-milla and lechuguilla;⁷ and it is used by cooking it with a slow

herbs they add a portion of ceremonies and plaintive songs, this being the method which they follow in their treatments. These sacred physicians reach a very high degree of esteem; they are called upon by distant regions and rancherias, and are paid very well, in order to exercise both offices."

6. These three are the fruit of the Prickly Pear, *Yucca* and the Saguaro.

7. These are the Century Plant (Agave), Desert Spoon (*Dasylyrion*), Soapweed (*Yucca elata*) and small Agave (*Agave lechugilla*).

fire in a subterranean fireplace,⁸ until it acquires a certain degree of sweetness and piquancy. They likewise make a sort of grits or pinol of the seed of hay or grass which they reap with much care in its season, although in small quantities (since they are not by nature farmers); they likewise raise some little corn, squash, beans, and tobacco, which the land produces more on account of its fertility than for the work which is expended in its cultivation.

"Their peevish temperaments cause those of this nation to have a character which is astute, distrustful, inconstant, bold, proud and jealous of their liberty and independence. Their size and color differ in each region, but all are brown, well proportioned with lively eyes, long hair, no beard⁹ and with astuteness and sagacity expressed in their faces.

"The number of their population does not correspond in any way whatsoever to the territory they occupy. This is the reason for the spacious deserts which are found in this enormous country and for the fact that every family head in his own camp considers himself a sovereign in his district.

"In general they choose for dwelling places the most rugged and mountainous ranges. In these they find water and wood in abundance, the wild produce necessary, and natural fortifications where they can defend themselves from their enemies. Their hovels or huts are circular, made of branches of trees, covered with skins of horses, cows or bison, and many likewise use tents of this type. In the canyons of these mountain ranges the men seek large and small game, going as far as the contiguous plains; and when they have obtained what was necessary, they bring it to their camp, where it is the work of the women, not only to prepare the foods, but also to tan the skins which are then used for various purposes, particularly for their clothing.

"The men fit them around the body, leaving the arms free. In general chamois or deerskin is used for this purpose.

8. This is now commonly referred to as a Mescal pit. The pits are circular depressions, six to twenty feet in circumference and one to three feet deep. It was lined with gravel or rocks and a fire was built in it. When the stones were hot, the coals were raked out and the leaf-bases of Agave were put in and covered with grass and then with earth. After two days of steaming, the mescal was ready for consumption.

9. The Apache, as in the case of Indians generally, have a fair growth of beard, which is invariably plucked.

They cover the head with a cap or hood of the same material, sometimes adorned with feathers of birds or horns of animals. No one from the time he begins to walk, lacks well made shoes with a tall upper of skin, which are called by the Spaniard "tehuas".¹⁰ All suspend from their ears earrings formed of shells, feathers and small mouse skins, and they usually add to this adornment a paint of chalk and red earth with which they anoint the face, arms, and legs. The women's dress is likewise of skins; but it is distinguished by the use of a short skirt, tied at the waist, and loose about the knees; a shirt or coat which is drawn over the head and hangs to the waist covering the breast and shoulders and leaving the sides open; shoes like those of the men, and no covering on the head; their hair, tied in the form of a chestnut, they keep usually in a bag of deer, buffalo or otter skin. Their ornaments on neck and arms are strings of deer and antelope hoofs, shells, fish-bones [spines] and the roots of sweet smelling herbs. The richest and most elegant families put borders of porcupine quills on their clothes and shoes, which they soften and smooth in order to use them thus; and many women add to their skirts an adornment of little tin-plated bells or small pieces of latten brass¹¹ which makes a group of them extremely noisy.

"The man knows no other obligation than that of the hunt and of war, of making his weapons, saddles and other trappings necessary for its exercise. The women care for the animals they own; make the utensils needed in their work; cure and tan the hides of the animals; carry water and firewood; seek and collect the seeds and fruits which the region produces; dry them and make bread and cakes; sow a little corn, beans, etc.; water¹² them and reap at the proper time, and they are not exempt from accompanying their husbands on

10. It is interesting to note that Father Garces, in the 1770's, referred to a division of the Yavapais as Yabipais Tehua, possibly because of their moccasins with high uppers.

11. Thin sheets of a brass-like alloy, formerly much used for church utensils. The tin-plated bells are doubtless the tinklers so commonly used in decorating Indian costumes, and the noise referred to here was music to the wearers, especially in dancing.

12. Though it is not stated, it may well be that these small plots were irrigated by hand. Irrigation with ditches is not known to have been generally practiced by any Apache group prior to reservation days.

their expeditions, in which they are extremely useful for driving the stolen animals, acting as sentinels and serving in whatever capacity is commanded them.

“The armament of the Apaches is composed of lance, bow and arrows, which they keep in a quiver or bag of mountain lion [leopardo] skin for the greater part. These weapons vary in size according to the groups which use them. Among the Apaches of eastern groups there are some firearms; but they appreciate them less, both on account of the lack of munitions, as well as on account of not having the means to repair them if they are broken, and generally they give them a new use, making of them lances, knives, arrowheads, and other implements which they esteem highly.

“In proportion as the father of the family has more sons, grandsons, nephews or married dependents, his camp is larger or smaller and he is recognized as the leader of it. There are some of eighty and a hundred families, of forty, of twenty and of fewer, and these are dismembered as soon as those who compose it become displeased. There are some so jealous and proud that they prefer to live completely separated from the others with their wives and children, because thus no one disputes their leadership.

“Decrepitude or advanced age makes them despised by the others; their authority ceases thus even in those of greatest reputation, and they come to be a plaything of their rancheria. Men and women are esteemed to the extent that they have all the strength necessary for the complete exercise of their functions; and this begins to fail them very late, on account of their strong nature and constitution; one sees many of more than a hundred years taking part in the hunts and other vigorous exercises.

“The Apache is proud of nothing, except of being brave, this attitude reaching such a degree, that he despises the man of whom no bold deed is known, and on account of this he adds to his name that of “Jasquie”, which means gallant, placing it before the one by which he is known, as Jasquie-tajusitlan, Jasquiedecja, etc. This idea and custom is prevalent among the Gileños and the Mimbrenos who, actually, are the boldest.

"Polygamy is widespread in this nation, and every man has as many women as he can support, the huts which compose his clan or horde being in proportion to the number of these.

"Matrimony takes place by the bridegroom buying the one who is to be his wife from her father or from the principal relative on whom she depends. From this results the servile treatment which the wives suffer, and the conviction that their husbands are masters even of their lives. Often the contract is dissolved by unanimous consent of the spouses, and the woman returning to her father, he returns what he had received for her. Other times it ends by the flight of the women, as a result of the ill treatment they suffer, in which case they take refuge in the hands of some powerful individual, who receives them under his protection, without anyone daring to demand anything from him.

"They change their rancherías when, in the place in which they have been living, the foods necessary for them and their beasts become scarce, moving now from one mountain range to the other, now from a rock or cliff to another of the same range or mountain. Of much influence in these moves is the necessity of seeking places for the purpose of passing the different seasons of the year with more comfort.

"The joining together of many rancherías in one place is usually accidental and comes from all going to hunt for certain fruits, which they know are abundant in such and such a place at a particular time. Likewise it is a matter of intention and agreement, when they join with the idea of forming a body for defense, or with that of celebrating one of their feasts, which consist of hunts and dances and games in the night. In general in these meetings some plan of operations against their enemies is decided upon. In these cases, not only are the rancherías of one group joined together, but usually two or more complete bands congregate.

"In any of these unions the one considered to be most valiant takes the command of all by common consent; and although this dignity does not cause any particular subordination, or dependence on the part of the others, since every individual is free to go, to remain, or to disapprove the ideas

of the chief, the influence of the latter is always preponderant, especially as far as the disposition of the camp is concerned, the method of defense in case of being attacked, or undertaking any hostile maneuver.

"The camps which come together thus, always occupy the roughest canyons of a mountain with passes difficult to approach, and this is always next to the greatest heights that dominate the surrounding plains. Here those who are to serve as lookouts during the meeting build their huts, it being their duty to discover the avenues of approach and to give the warnings necessary. In these elevated posts they never make a fire, and those who live there are always of sharpest vision, and have the most practice and knowledge of war.

"Dances are their favorite nocturnal diversion in these meetings. Their only orchestra is their own voices and an olla or gourd to which is tied a tight skin and which is beaten with a stick. To its rhythm and that of the voices of men and women, all jump together arranged in different circles, and both sexes arranged symmetrically. From time to time two or three who are more nimble and agile enter the circle and execute a sort of English dance, but one of great violence and difficult twisting of all the members and joints.

"If the dance is in preparation for war or in celebration of some warlike action which has been brought to a happy conclusion, it is executed with weapons in the hands: shouts and shots are mingled with it; and without losing the cadence of the "Ho! Ho!" they recite the bold deeds which have taken place or which they intend to carry out.

"There are also dances which belong to the diviners when they are to exercise their divination. Those who execute it cover their heads with a sort of mask, made of deerskin. The music is infernal and its results diabolical.

"In the big hunts men, women and children take part without distinction, some on foot and others on horseback. The buffalo hunt is called a "carneada": time and offensive preparations are needed to go on this hunt in lands near to hostile nations. It is peculiar to the Mescaleros, Llaneros and Lipanes, who are near this sort of cattle. The present object of description is the hunt which is made usually for deer,

burro, antelope, javalina, porcupine, mountain lion [*leopardos*], bear, wolves, coyotes, hare and rabbits. Having reconnoitered the valleys, mountain ranges, plains, and brush which they inhabit, for the traces of these animals, and having decided on the day, the leader of the undertaking determines at dawn the places where the different groups who are to start the hunt should be, the points which are to be occupied by archers on horseback and on foot, and those who are to serve at a distance as lookouts in order to guard against attacks of enemies, and in these places those appointed take up their posts. In this way at dawn a piece of terrain is encircled, which frequently is five or six leagues in circumference. The sign to commence the chase, and consequently to close the circle, is given by smoke signals. There are men on horseback assigned to this project, which consists in setting fire to the grass and herbage of the whole circumference; and since for this purpose they are already placed ahead of time in their posts with torches ready which they make from dried bark or dried palmilla, it takes only a moment to see the whole circle flare up. At the same instant the shouts and the noise commence, the animals flee, they find no exit, and finally they fall into the hands of their astute adversaries.

“This kind of hunt takes place only when the grass and shrubs are dry. In flood season when the fields cannot be set afire, they set up their enclosures by rivers and arroyos.

“The deer and antelope hunt is carried out with the greatest skill by one Indian alone; and due to the great profit which results from it, he always prefers it to the noisy type of chase, which serves more for amusement than to provide necessities. He dresses in a skin of the animal to be hunted, places on his head another of the type which he is hunting, and armed with his bow and arrows walking on all fours, he tries to mingle with a herd of them. He doesn't waste a shot; he kills as many of them as he can at his leisure. If they flee, he runs with them; if they are frightened, he pretends a like excitement, and in this fashion there are times when he finishes off the greater part of the game he finds.

“From their tender years the boys are schooled in this useful activity, and to them is always reserved the hunt for dogs, ferrets, squirrels, hares, rabbits, badgers and field rats. By means of this practice they acquire the greatest skill in aiming and they become extremely skilled in every sort of trickery and artfulness.

“Bird hunting does not much interest them ; however, due to a bloody and destructive spirit, they kill as many birds as come within range. They use the meat of very few, and restrict their usefulness to collecting feathers, of which they make their ornaments and to provide the extremities of their arrows. They eat no fish at all, in spite of their abundance in the rivers ; but they kill them also and keep the bones [spines] for different uses ; that which they do very much appreciate is the beaver or the otter, for the taste of its flesh and the usefulness of its hide.

“Once an offensive expedition has been decided upon and the command temporarily given over to the one who will direct it, they choose in the interior of some mountain range of the district a rugged terrain which is defended by nature, provided with water and wild fruits, where they leave their families in safety with a small escort. They leave this place divided into small parties, generally on foot, in order to hide their tracks on the trip which they make on hard and rocky land and they come together again at the time and place agreed upon, near the country which they have decided to invade. In order to do this they place ahead of time an ambush in the location most favorable to them. They then send some fast Indians to draw away the people by stealing some animals and cattle ; the people go out to pursue them, and they attack them suddenly, making a bloody butchery. If any of the group makes a sizeable theft before joining the others at the point agreed upon, they usually are contented with their luck and go back without finishing the expedition. At other times, not wishing to miss the appointment, they use the better beasts for their own service, kill the rest and continue on to join the others who are doing the same on their route.

“It is impossible to express the speed with which they flee after a large robbery of animals when they undertake to re-

treat to their own country; the mountains which they encounter, the waterless deserts which they cross in order to fatigue those who pursue them, and the stratagems of which they make use in order to elude the blows of their victims.

"They always leave far behind on their trail two or three of their own people mounted on the speediest horses, so that these can warn them of whatever they note in the rear guard. If superior forces come against them, they kill everything that they are taking along and, they escape on the best animals, which they finally kill also in case they are overtaken, saving their lives in the rough regions of the mountains.

"If the news from the rearguard makes it evident that inferior forces are pursuing them, they await in a pass and commit a second massacre, repeating this trick as often as their good fortune and the lack of skill of their opponents make it possible. When they recognize that their pursuers are sagacious and intelligent like themselves, they divide their booty into small portions and flee in different directions, thus assuring their arrival in their own country with the greater part, at the risk of some of them being intercepted.

"At the end of the foray when the booty has been divided among the participants, in which partition disturbances frequently take place which are decided by the law of the strongest, each party returns to its own region, and each camp to its particular mountain range or favorite country to live with complete liberty, and without suffering annoyance from anyone.

"With fewer preparations and more profit much destruction is caused by four or six Indians who decide to carry out a short campaign by themselves, it being much more difficult to avoid the destruction caused by them, just as it is easier for them to cover their trail and penetrate without being detected into the most distant territories, for which reason they always make such a trip through the brush and rocky slopes of the mountains, which they leave for the populated places, committing the attack with the greatest rapidity and then retiring precipitately to occupy the same rough territory, and to continue their march through it, it being almost impossible

to find them, even though they are sought with the greatest diligence.

"The occasion in which the valor or temerity of these barbarians is best recognized, is when they are attacked by their enemies. They are never lacking in calm, even though they be surprised and have no chance for defense. They fight to the last breath and usually they prefer to die rather than surrender.

"They proceed with the same intrepidity when they attack, but with the difference that if they do not obtain the upper hand immediately and see that luck is against them, they do not hesitate to flee and desist from their project, and with this in view they provide for their retreat ahead of time and determine the direction to take for safety.

"A camp no matter how cumbersome and how numerous its occupants, makes forced marches on foot or on horseback, which in a few hours frees them from their pursuers. It is impossible to measure the speed with which they break camp when they have perceived hostile superior forces in their vicinity. If they have animals, in a moment they are laden with their belongings and children; the mothers with their infants suspended from their heads in a hand basket of willow in which they place them with much security and ease;¹³ the men armed and mounted on their best horses; and everything in order to start out for country which they judge properly safe.

"If they are lacking in horses the women carry the equipage, as well as the children. The men cover the vanguard, rearguard and sides of the party, and choosing the most difficult and inconvenient terrain, they make their journey like wild beasts, through the most impenetrable rough places.

"Only by surprise and by capturing all their places of retreat is it possible to succeed in punishing these savages, because since they detect the presence of their enemies before action commences, they succeed in placing themselves in safety with very little footwork. If it is determined, however, to fight them, this is with great risk, because of the

13. He is describing the cradle board.

extreme agility of the barbarians and the impregnable rocks where they take up their station.

"In spite of the continuous movement in which these people live, and of the great deserts of their country, they find each other easily when they desire to communicate, even though it should have been a long time since they have seen each other, and have no news of recent events. Aside from the fact that all know more or less the territories in which such and such leaders are probably living by the character of the mountain ranges, valleys and watering courses which they recognize, smoke is the most efficient means by which they communicate. Understanding it is a science; but is so well known by all of them, that they are never mistaken in the meaning of its messages.

"A smoke made on a height, put out immediately, is a sign for all to prepare to resist enemies who are near by and have already been seen personally or their tracks have been noted. Any camps that detect them give the news to others in the same way.

"A small smoke made on the slope of a mountain, is a sign that they are hunting their own people whom they desire to meet. Another smoke in reply half way up the sides of an eminence, indicates that there is their habitation, and that they can freely come to it.

"Two or three small smokes made successively in a plain or canyon pointing in one direction, are an indication of desire to parley with their enemies, and reply is made to this in the same fashion.

"In this way they have many general signals used in common by all the Apache groups. In the same way there are also signals that have been specially agreed upon, which no one can understand without possessing the key. They make use of these frequently when they enter hostile country for the purpose of raiding. In order not to be delayed in the making of smoke, there is no man or woman who does not carry with him the implements necessary to make fire. They prefer flint, steel and tinder when they can get them; but if these are lacking they carry in their place two prepared sticks, one of sotol and the other of lechuguilla [see note 7],

well dried, which they rub with force with both hands like a little hand mill, the point of one against the flat side of the other,¹⁴ and thus they succeed in a moment in setting fire to the shavings or dust of the rubbed part; and this is a process which even children are not ignorant of.

“One should not pass over in silence the particular knowledge which they have of the tracks which they notice in the open field. Not only do they know the time which has passed since the track was made, but they can tell if it was made at night or in the daytime: if the beast was loaded or with a rider, or was loose: if it was being herded or was grazing, and a thousand other particulars of which only continuous practice and diligent study can give complete knowledge. If they wound a deer, antelope or any other animal, they never lose its trail until they find it dead or incapable of walking, even though they follow its trail two or three days, and the wounded beast has joined a herd of others.

“Likewise it is worth while telling about the peculiar distrust of one another in which they live, even though they are related, and the precautions they take on approaching when they have not seen each other for a long time. The Apache does not even approach his own brother without weapons in his hand, always on guard against an attack or always ready to commit one. They never greet each other, nor take leave of each other, and the most polite action of their society consists in looking at each other and considering each other a short space of time before speaking on any business.

“Their propensity for stealing and for doing damage to others is not limited particularly to those whom they know for outright enemies, that is to say, Spaniards and Comanches, but it extends also to not pardoning each other, since with the greatest facility the weaker see themselves despoiled by the stronger; and bloody battles are stirred up among the different groups, which end only when a common cause unites them in their common defense.

“The war with the Comanches is as old as are the two

14. These are the fire drill and hearth.

nations;¹⁵ it is carried on with vigor by the groups which border them; that is to say, the Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros and Lipanes. Their hatred arises from the fact that both the Comanches and the Apaches wish to have exclusive rights to hunting the bison which is abundant on the borders of the two nations.

"It is not our business here to investigate the origin of the cruel and bloody war which the Apaches have been carrying on for many years in the Spanish possessions. Perhaps it was originated in former times by the trespasses, excesses and avarice of the colonists themselves who lived on the frontier exercising a subordinate authority. At present, the wise provisions of a just, active and pious government are bringing it to a close, and it should be noted that this system not only does not aspire to the destruction or slavery of these savages, but that it seeks their happiness by the most efficacious means, allowing them to possess their homes in peace precisely because being well aware of our justice and our power to sustain it, they respect our populations and do not disturb them.¹⁶

TONTOS¹⁷

"This group, which is the farthest to the west, is the one least known by the Spaniards, because with the exception of some camps situated near the lines of the presidios of the province of Sonora,¹⁸ which in union with the Chiricaguís

15. He is speaking here of the eastern Apache only. The Comanche pushed the Jicarilla into northern New Mexico in 1701, joined with the Ute in battle in this region and by the late 1700's had become such a potent factor that the Spanish allied themselves with the Apache to resist the onslaught of the Comanche.

16. Due to intensive and widespread campaigns of the Spanish in the late 1700's in New Mexico, Chihuahua and what was then Sonora, many of the Apache had sued for peace, or their strength had been broken. However, shortly after the turn of the century, the Apache of eastern Arizona and western New Mexico began to renew their activities. When Mexico gained its independence in the 1820's the Apache, due to the withdrawal of troops from various presidios, once more gained the upper hand.

17. This group, the name for which means fools in Spanish, was first reported in 1788 as Coyoteros in the Pinal Mountain region of Arizona, and represents the Western Apache of today. In 1799 they were referred to as Apaches Coyoteros, alias Tontos, alias del Pinal. In 1820 they were still called Tontos or Coyoteros. In the middle 1800's the name Tonto gradually was restricted to the Apache frequenting the region of the Tonto Basin south to the Pinal Mountains and nearby environs.

18. At this date, 1796, the northern border of Sonora, for all practical purposes of

have attacked those territories, the rest have lived and now live in peace in their own country, where they sow a little, although not much corn, beans, and other vegetables, and they are supplied with meat by hunting burros and coyotes, of which there is such abundance that they are likewise known by the name of Coyoteros. The others on the frontier who, when they were called together by the Chiricaguis, came to be our enemies, are now peaceful and are established in the presidio of Tucson,¹⁹ and its vicinity, and the rest remain peacefully in their own lands. According to the information which the Chiricaguis and they themselves have given us, it is known that this group is very numerous: its territories are equally unknown to us since there has been no need to enter them. On the west they are bounded by the Papagos, Cocomaricopas and Yavipais; on the north by the Moquinos; on the east by the Chiricaguis group, and on the south by our establishment.²⁰

CHIRICAGUIS

“The mountain range of this name, the principal habitat of this group, is the one from which they get their name. This group was rather numerous in other times, when united and allied with the Navajos²¹ and some groups of Tontos, who were their neighbors, they infested the far interior of the province of Sonora. They had an alliance with Seris, Suaquis and Lower Pimas, who acquainted them with the

the Spanish, was the Gila River, though no definite line was ever established. The Apache who joined the Chiricahua, since they were the southernmost of the group, may have been elements of the Gileños or of what later were called Pinal Apache, and the Aravaipa.

19. These Apache became known as the Mansos, meaning tame ones.

20. Due to the Spanish lack of knowledge concerning the country north of the Gila at this time, Cordero's list of tribes bordering these Apache is slightly inaccurate. The Yavapais were along the full length of the western border of Cordero's Tontos (Western Apache), the Little Colorado River served roughly as their northern line, the Chiricahuas formed a portion of the eastern boundary, and the Spanish their southern line.

21. A Navajo alliance with the Gila Apache is mentioned in Spanish documents, specifically occurring in 1784 (Thomas, A. B., *Forgotten Frontiers*, 1932, p. 45). I know of nothing indicating such an alliance with the Chiricahua specifically. This alliance was severed in 1786, though the Spanish were still concerned about it as late as 1809 (Santa Fe Archives, Document No. 1936).

terrain and gave them many advantages.²² After these peoples had been subdued and the Navajo group, having broken its alliance with them had made peace in good faith with the province of New Mexico, those who have continued to engage in hostilities have been continuously punished by our arms. For this reason their number has been much diminished. Some of their encampments have obtained permission from the government to establish themselves peacefully in the presidios of Bacoachi and Janos;²³ others still live in their own country, hostile to the Navajos and Moquinos,²⁴ from whom they occasionally steal sheep and to whom they do all the damage possible. They are bounded by the latter²⁵ on the north; by the Tontos on the west, by the Spaniards on the south, and by the Gileños on the east.

GILEÑOS²⁶

"This group has been one of the most warlike and sanguinary. It has carried on hostilities indiscriminately in the province of Sonora and in that of Nueva Vizcaya, which territories, even those farthest inland, are as well known to them as those of their own country. They have always been in league with the Mimbres group and both have shared the profits and the risks. The repeated punishment which they have suffered for their attacks has succeeded in restraining their pride, seeing their forces reduced by three-quarters of their total. Of the camps which exist today, some are established in the presidio of Janos, and others remain in their own country, and do not cease to bother our people. On the west they border on the Chiricaguis; to the north on the

22. There is little to support Cordero's statement regarding the alliance. The Apache rarely raided as far west as the Seris or as far south as the Lower Pima (Nebome) or Suaquis (Yaqui).

23. These presidios were situated northeast of Arizpe in Sonora and in the corner of northwestern Chihuahua respectively. In 1784, an Opata company with Spanish officers was organized and headquartered at Bacoachi (Bancroft, H. H., *North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, p. 681). Janos was founded in 1686.

24. The Navajo and Hopi had no contact with the Chiricahua as far as known documentary evidence is concerned. It is possible, however, that the Warm Springs band of Chiricahua, who in later years had contacts with the Navajo who raided as far south as Acoma and Laguna, may have had the opportunity to reach the Navajo if their respective raiding patterns were the same in the late 1700's as in the middle 1800's.

25. Possibly bounded by the Navajo, but not the Hopi.

26. Named after the Gila River, at the headwaters of which they lived.

province of New Mexico; to the east on the Mimbres group, and to the south on our frontiers.

MIMBREÑOS²⁷

"This tribe was very numerous and as daring as the Gileños. It is divided into two groups, upper and lower: the former, who were those nearest to the province of New Vizcaya, have been conquered after having suffered many defeats in the course of their bold enterprises, and live peacefully in the presidios of Janos and Carrizal:²⁸ the latter have not yet abandoned their country, which is nearest to the province of New Mexico. They are allied with the Faraones, and in spite of the losses which they have suffered from our arms in punishment for their daring, they have not given up their ancient intrepidity. Their strength is now very little and their number has been diminished by more than half. The province of New Mexico is their boundary to the north; to the west the Gileños group, on the east by the Faraones, and to the south by our frontier.

FARAONES³⁰

"This group of Indians is still quite numerous; it inhabits the mountain ranges between the Rio Grande del Norte and the Pecos. It is intimately connected with the Mescaleros, and of little accord with the Spaniards. The provinces of New Mexico and of New Vizcaya have been and are the theater of their outbreaks. In both places they have made peace on different occasions, which they have always broken, except for a few rancherias which on account of their loyalty have received permission to establish themselves peacefully at the presidio of San Eleazario.³¹ Of this group one branch is that of the Jicarilla³² Apaches, who live peace-

27. Mimbres in Spanish means "Willows."

28. This presidio was situated on the Rio del Carmen, about 100 miles due south of El Paso.

30. Their name is derived from Pharoah, in the sense of godless people or the Apache hordes of Pharoah. [No. 29 for a note has been skipped. Ed.]

31. This presidio was situated about 60 miles south of El Paso on the southwest side of the Rio Grande.

32. The Jicarilla came into New Mexico from Colorado in 1701, driven southward by the Comanches. The Faraones were reported in the 1620's living in approximately

fully in the province of New Mexico, in territory contiguous to the pueblo of Taos, the frontier of the Comanches. The Faraones are bounded on the north by the province of New Mexico; on the west by the Mimbres Apaches; on the east by the Mescaleros, and on the south by the province of New Vizcaya.

MESCALEROS³³

"This group dwells, generally speaking, in the mountain ranges near the Pecos River, extending northwards on both banks as far as the Comanche. It uses this locality particularly in the proper season for the buffalo hunt, on which occasions it joins with the plains group which is its neighbor. It proceeds in like fashion when it undertakes offensive operations against the Spanish establishments, inviting the Faraones to take part in its enterprises. In general it starts out through the Mapimi depression,³⁴ whether it is casting its glances towards the province of New Vizcaya, or whether it resolves to invade that of Coahuila. They like firearms of which they have some; but they do not on this account give up weapons which are proper and peculiar to them. The number of families which composes this group is small, since they have suffered much from the Comanches, their most bitter enemies, and due to some diminution which the Spaniards caused them in their old disputes. On the north their boundary is the Comanche country; on the west the Faraon tribe; on the east the Llaneros, and on the south our frontier.

LLANEROS³⁵

"These Indians occupy the plains and sandy places situated between the Pecos River, which they call Tjunchi, and

the same area Cordero describes. The Jicarilla in the mid-1800's were closely associated with the Mescalero, who then occupied the area Cordero here describes for the Faraones. Perhaps the latter were absorbed by the Mescalero.

33. Their name is derived from Mescal (see note 8).

34. This depression is located in southeastern Chihuahua and is known as Bolson de Mapimi. From here one can turn east into Coahuila or south into Durango, formerly a portion of Nueva Vizcaya.

35. This name is derived from the Spanish word llano (plain), and means "those of the plains." Their range east of the Pecos River includes what is called Llano Estacado (Stockaded or Palisaded Plain).

the Colorado³⁶ which they call Tjulchide. It is a group of some strength, and is divided into three parts, that is to say: Natajes, Lipianes and Llaneros. They check the Comanches in the continual fights and bloody actions which frequently occur, especially in the season of the buffalo hunts. They attack, although infrequently, the Spanish establishments, uniting themselves for this purpose with the Mescalero and Faraon Apaches, with whom they have a close friendship and alliance. They border to the north on the Comanches; on the west with the Mescaleros; and on the east with the Lipanes, on the south with the line of the Spanish presidios.

LIPANES³⁷

“This group is the eastern most of the Apacheria. It is divided into two quite numerous groups, named the Upper and the Lower with reference to the course of the Rio Grande whose waters bathe them; the former has been connected with the Mescaleros and the Llaneros, and occupies the territories contiguous to those tribes; the latter lives generally on the frontier of the province of Texas and the shores of the sea. All are most bitter enemies of the Comanches, their neighbors, with whom they have continuous bloody struggles for the proprietorship of the buffalo, which each one wants for itself. The Lower group have their intervals of peace and war with the Carancaguaces Indians and the Borrados³⁸ who inhabit the sea coast. Their dealings with the Spaniards have had like vicissitudes. At the present time they are acting in good faith, and have separated themselves from our enemies, not so much by reason of affection as out of respect for our weapons. In general they use firearms, which they acquire through the commerce which they have with the Indians of Texas, whose friendship they carefully preserve on account of this advantage. They are of gallant appearance, and much cleaner than all their compatriots. On the west they are

36. Colorado River of Texas. The Mescalero today refer to the Pecos River as Too e chi and the Rio Grande as Tool chi ea.

37. In 1776 Garces referred to them as Lipan. In 1792, Arricivita called them Ipa-nde. The exact derivation is not known.

38. The Carancaguaces are the Karankawa. The Borrados were a part of the Coahuiltecan family which occupied both sides of the lower Rio Grande in Texas and Coahuila.

bounded by the Llaneros; on the north by the Comanches; and on the east by the Carancaguaces and Borrados, the province of Texas, and on the south by our frontier.

NAVAJOS

"This tribe is the farthest north of all of their nation.³⁹ It inhabits the mountain range and the mesas of Navajo which gives them their name. They are not nomadic like the other Apaches, and they have fixed domiciles:⁴⁰ of which there are ten, namely: Sevolleta, Chacoli, Guadalupe, Cerro-Cabazon, Agua Salada, Cerro Chato, Chusca, Tunicha, Chelle and Carrizo.⁴¹ They sow corn and other vegetables. They raise sheep and they manufacture coarse cloth, blankets and other textiles of wool which they trade in New Mexico. In past times they were enemies of the Spaniards: at present they are their faithful friends and are governed by a general who is appointed by the governor: they suffer some inconveniences which are caused by their compatriots the Chiricaguis and Gileños, who are their neighbors on the south; on the north they bound with the Yutes, on the west with the Moquinos [Hopi], and on the east with the province of New Mexico."

Thus far the Memorial.

39. Cordero employs the term "nation" to designate all of the Apache groups, of which the Navajo were a part. The name Navajo appears to have been derived from a Tewa term referring to "great planted fields." The Apache who annoyed the Tewa of Santa Clara pueblo became known as "Apache de Navaho" and later simply as "Navaho." Cordero also employs the word "rancheria" throughout, which is herein translated camp since true rancherias are not known to have been built by the Apache of his day.

40. Cordero states "domicilio fijo." He probably meant they concentrated within certain geographic regions. The Navajo lived in more or less permanent dwellings (hogans), but they never built towns.

41. Sevolleta is Cebolleta, north of Laguna, New Mexico; Chacoli is Chaco Canyon, north of Gallup, New Mexico; Guadalupe cannot be identified, though it may have been near Zuñi, where this name was sometimes applied [It was across the Rio Puerco west of Cerro Cabazon. F.D.R.]; Cerro Cabazon is Cabazon, north of Cebolleta; Agua Salada is a name that could be applied to any salty water but cannot be identified here [An arroyo just north of Cebolleta. F.D.R.]. Cerro Chato is not known (but see below); Chusca is also north of Gallup; Tunicha refers to the area about the Tunicha Mountains (Cerro Chato is given as an alternate name); Chelle is Canyon de Chelly in northeastern Arizona and Carrizo is the area in the vicinity of the Carrizo Mountains of northeastern Arizona. In 1786, a few years prior to Cordero, Duran mentions Navajo at Chelli, San Matheo near Mount Taylor, Zebolleta, Chusca and Hozo (Ojo de Oso or Bear Spring) at the second site of Fort Wingate (Thomas, A. B., *Forgotten Frontiers*, 1932, p. 350).

SHEEP SHEARING IN NEW MEXICO 1956

*By J. D. ROBB**

THE methods of shearing sheep have not, it seems, changed very greatly in New Mexico since the introduction of mechanical clippers in the decade from 1895 to 1905. It was the writer's good fortune to be a visitor at the McWilliams Ranch for two days during the 1956 shearing. This had been going on for several days before my wife and I arrived and would continue after we left. The daily procedure was as follows:

At about 5-5:30 in the morning four or five men go out on horseback in order to bring in the sheep from a certain section of the range or a certain pasture. The sheep thus collected average about 500 to 600 a day. Sometime between 7 and 8 a.m. the sheep gang and attendants go down to the shearing floor, an area floored with concrete so that the fleeces, as they fall, do not become mixed with dirt. This floor is constantly kept swept by one man during the shearing. A truck is drawn up alongside this concrete floor. Attached to it and operating from the motor of the truck through the mechanical means of a belt rotating shaft and gears are 8 pairs of clippers. The 8 shearers stand side by side. A number of the sheep are kept penned up from the day before in order to be ready for shearing when operations begin in the morning. These sheep are led through an ingenious system of small and smaller corrals to the shearing floor. When the shearers are ready to commence operations a number of sheep, usually around 30 or 40, are led, or prodded with much shouting and flourishing of sticks or rubber hoses, into the shearing area. Each of the shearers seizes an unshorn sheep by the hind leg and starting in the region of the udders, which he trims carefully, trims the legs, the belly and then around the left side, over the head, and back down the right side. The entire operation of shearing a ewe consumes not over five minutes, sometimes as little as three minutes. A ram, especially if he has

* With the collaboration of Frank and Tura McWilliams.

horns, takes longer. The sheep are held carefully with their feet off the ground so that held by the shearer with two legs and a spare hand their struggles are ineffectual and they quickly give up, except for a convulsive start when nipped occasionally by the clippers.

As the sheep is released the attendant, who picks up and ties the fleece, hands a brass counter (two, if it is a ram fleece) to the sheep shearer who then puts it in his pocket and selects another sheep for shearing.

The fleece is then carried by an attendant to one end of the shearing floor, where a platform is erected. On the far side of this platform two frames are erected, on each of which is a large wool sack fastened by means of a large steel ring. The fleeces are dumped into this sack by another man who, with his feet, tramps the fleeces down into the bag so that they fill all the available space within the bag tightly.

As the shorn sheep accumulate within the shearing floor area they are permitted to escape into a small adjoining pen by an attendant who is very clever at opening the gate and closing it after the shorn sheep and before any of the unshorn sheep can escape.

In this smaller pen the sheep are marked with bright colored paint, a cold brand being placed on the sheep's side by means of a branding iron like those used in branding cattle. In the case of the McWilliams sheep, the brand is a red letter "B". This brand is simply for quick and long range identification. Adjoining ranch owners use different colors of paint, or make their brands on a different portion of the sheep's anatomy. For close and final identification the sheep are earmarked, the earmark in the case of the McWilliams Ranch being a wedge-shaped cut in the end of the left ear. The sheep are also further identified by a horizontal scar across the nose.

Although the shearing here is scheduled to take place before lambing, there are usually a few prematurely born lambs. Since large numbers of sheep are handled, the sheep of a day's or morning's shearing are kept penned in for some time after the shearing in order that in the midst of the

relatively small group of penned sheep, these lambs may find their mothers and vice-versa.

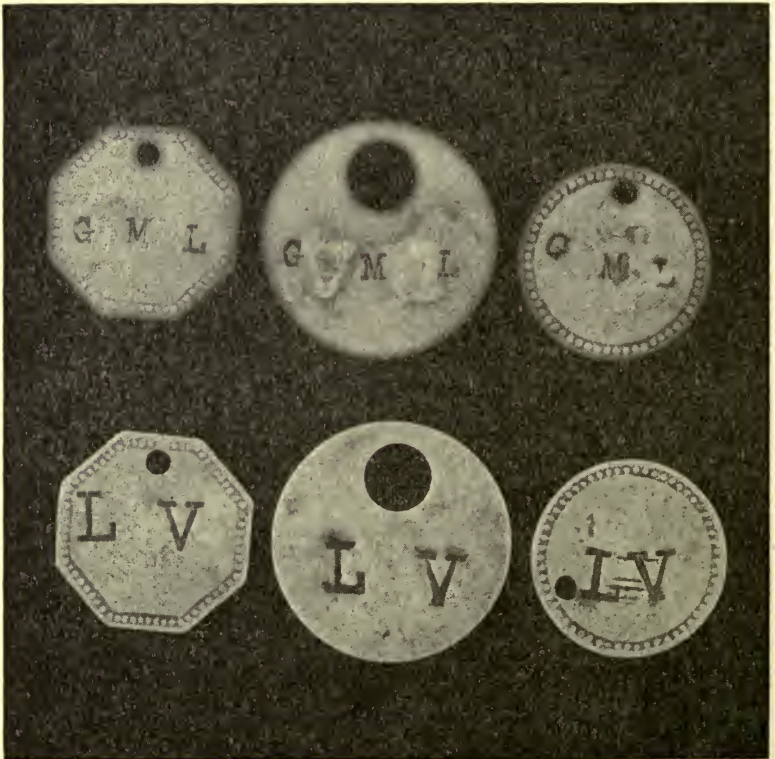
The activity on the shearing floor is difficult to describe. It is like a noisy factory in full operation. There is great clatter of machinery and whirring of the shears. The shearers work with almost incredible speed and concentration. There are many men at work at different tasks. Some, like the herders, are employees of the rancher. The shearing crew, however, are employees of the boss, Lorenzo Villa. There were engaged at this shearing beside Frank McWilliams, who supervised and helped at various tasks, five herdsmen, eight shearers, a tramper, two fleece collectors, a sweeper. Mr. McWilliams did the branding but was relieved by one of the herdsmen on his arrival. Every one of these men has a task which he executes with great skill. There is a feeling of sociability and excitement, competition and pleasure. There is also fatigue as was apparent when one of the shearers would straighten up to give his tense back muscles a rest.

The shearing starts at about 8 in the morning and continues until noon. At about 10 o'clock the rancher begins to examine a certain portion of the horizon with field glasses mentally calculating whether the expected flock from the range will arrive in time to prevent the interruption of shearing operations. Finally a faint cloud of dust drifts up from one of the arroyos and presently an almost imperceptible streak of white will show itself against the side of the hill, which, on closer inspection, proves to be the flock of sheep coming through a gate or saddle in the hills. As the sheep near the enclosure, particularly if they are old sheep which have been sheared before, they show great reluctance to be herded into the corral and individuals or groups of sheep will bolt and there is great shouting and excitement as the riders spur their horses at a gallop after the recalcitrant animals.

Such is a sheep shearing on a big New Mexico ranch in the year 1956, as it has gone on for many years and as I suspect will go on for many more.

An interesting feature of sheep shearing is the use of counters. The three counters illustrated in the photograph are of a type that have been used in New Mexico for many

years when large flocks of sheep are sheared. One of these counters bearing the initials of the patron of the sheep shearing crews (in this case, Lorenzo Villa, of Carlsbad, New Mexico) is given to each shearer as he completes the shearing of a fleece. The small circular counter represents credit for one fleece, the octagonal counter represents 25 fleeces, and the large circular counter represents 100 fleeces. They are convertible into cash at the current rate when presented to the issuer. The current rate is 30¢ for a ewe fleece, 60¢ for a ram fleece, of which one half goes to Villa and the rest to the shearer. At night after the shearing is over, the shearers frequently gamble, using these counters in place of money, and it is said that sometimes one man will end up a sheep shearing season with a goodly portion of the earnings of the entire crew in his pocket.



Notes and Documents

Office of

COPY

J. S. STARRETT
Justice of the Peace
Young County

Graham, Texas, July, 1895

Robert Holman Esq. — Las Vegas, N. M.

Dear Friend

and one time Neighbor away back several months I forget now how long Maggie Receid a letter from you informing us of your having left Peacos and Residence Los Vagas, N. M. We was all glad to know that you was all So well pleased with your New home. Maggie handed Me the latter and Requested Me to answer immediately and that She would write some time later on. I said yes I would do so and put the letter in My pocet and as uasuel put it off untell a More convienent time untell about the Last of April I was taken down sick and have been Confind to My Room and Most of the time to My Bed 9 or 10 weeks the longest Spell of Sickness of My life I am just Now able to set up and look Out over the beautiful green sward that surounds the House it has been Rainy so Much lately that everything has grown so luxuently you would be surprised to See Such a crop of vegetables and Milons as Mr. Ford has on your old place he planted a Row of Water Milons along the fence next to My House I told him he would never see a Milon that would weigh a pound but to My astonishment I look out of my Window this morning and count from 50 to 60 big Milons lieing along the fence Some of the Vines are running through the Cracks of the fence and bearing Milons in our yard such fine grass I have not seen for Many years it Reminds one of Early times in Texas the Street in frunt of the House and College Hill all coverd in beautiful greene grass 3 or 4 inches high the corn and cotton crop is very fine the corn the heviist crop that has Ever been rassied in the county so the Farmers say there was no wheat sown on account of the dry fall thare was a fair oat crop but is almost intryly Ruind in the shock by continud wet weather, the Rivers and Creeks have been very high Several Times this Summer Salt Creek overflowd once and was Running like a River for two days Just along the North line of our fence it Liked only 3 feet of being on the onside of the fence. I had a view of it from My sick bed through the north window of My Room the Mill folks was very much alarmed for a while. I wish I could visit you this Fall I would like Especily to Stay a while at the hot springs near Los Vegas but times is so hard and I am Making nothing I dont think it would be wise to Spend Money on an Experiment and Even if partialaly Restoid to health I could not count on Many More years of usefulness in this life anyway, and I think When a Man has out lived his usefulness in this

life it is better for him to pass away. I would like to See Los Vagas too and compare it with the Los Vogas I saw 30 odd years ago then a little Mexican Town of perhaps not more than 2 Or 3 hundred inhabitants I have Spent two nights of My life in Los Vagas but not under very favorable circumstances at least I was not favorbaly impressed with the conditions that surrounded me at the time, a lot of us had been capturd at the Fight at Glorietar Canion 15 miles out from Santa fie Some 40 or 50 in number 10 or 12 of the ShropShire Co We was sent under gard to Fort Union after a long and hard days March on foot we landed late in the night in Los Vages and quaterd in some old filthey and dilapadated Building I was so tiered I lay down and Selpt like an old dog Next morning we wer started again on a double quick to Ft Union after staying Several days at Fort Union the Yanks all Returned from the Glorietta fight Some of them come among us and told us that they had anihilated the Texians that they had kild & capturd Sibleys whole outfit that what few they didnt get was scattred all over the Countrely and would starve to death they said we was no account and wold never Make Solders that we had better go home and stay thare, I said to one fellow who was looking a Me, is that True, he said No it was a dam Lie, he said the Texians got the Best of the Fight that neither side had any general that Booth armies wer Runing from each other. Next morning we wer cald out in line and told that we might go Back to our Frinds at Santa fie, that they wold Send No Escort with us told us to Elect a capton of our own and March under him to Santa fie We Elected a Man by the Name of Jolgn Henrey Capton they give us Some Bread in a wallat and a Blanket apeace and we Started under our new captan for Santa fie Our Capton was a fast walker and soon left many of us far behind he seemed to think of nothing but to save him Self and let his Command go to the devil, I dont think have ever Seen him from that day to this. Two hours after we started thare was not 4 men in a squad geather. I walked all day with one comrade the wind Blew hard all day from the north west we must have been the hind most ones of the gang we got into Los Vegas after dark We did not find our Friends that had got in a head of us Some whare in the East part of Towne We found some water and after quinching our thirst we Tried to spread our Blankets But the Wind was Blowing so hard we coulnd spread them out so Just wroped them around us and lay downe and Slept untell morning the next Morning when we awaake we found some of our Friends lyeing not far away We got up eat some of our Bread drank water out of a creek close by and Resumed our March to Santa fie I dont Remember how long we was making it I think 2 days from Los Vegas. when we got thare our Command had gone and was leaving the Countrey we found a few of our sick & wounded men in a hospital I was then sick with Small Pox and was put in an old doby house with some others with same disease Most of them died a few only got well we left poor Wils Bonds Sick at Fort Union he died thare after-

wards, poor fellow his fate was hard in deed to be left among stranger to die with no Friend to comfort him by speaking even a kind word to him in his last hours on Earth I have often Thoughtt of his Sad ending but Such is the fate Man I Shal have to close this I fear to you, dul and poorly composed Communication I am now very weak and nervos and can write no more at present if you will answer this in My Next I will tell you how I got home from Santa fie Maggie will answer Mip Lous letter in a few days and give you all the News of the Towne Kind love of My Family to yours,

Pa

[Submitted for publication by Mrs. Emma H. Scott, daughter of Robert Holman. Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Texas. Ed.]

* * *

Mrs. E. P. Ellwood of DeKalb, Illinois has given the Archives and Western History department of the University of Wyoming the records of the famous Isaac L. Ellwood Barbed Wire Companies.

The Ellwood Company, manufacturing barbed wire invented by Joseph Glidden, was one of the first to sell barbed wire on an extensive basis in the American West. The Ellwood Collection coupled with the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association files make the Western Range Cattle Industry at the University of Wyoming an especially strong research field for scholars in Western History.

The Ellwood records consist of one hundred and twenty-five letter file boxes, seventy-five letter press books, sixty ledgers and a large amount of unclassified correspondence.

* * *

Lincoln County Chronology

(continued)

- 2 (Tues.) Party returns to Lincoln with Copeland, who appeals to Dudley for protection.
- Widenmann describes Tunstall murder, testifying at habeas corpus hearings (before Judge Bristol at Mesilla) for Jesse Evans, charged with murder of Tunstall.
- 3 (Wed.) Sheriff's posse leaves Lincoln for San Patricio.
- 4 Turner, Powell, and Bob Beckwith party of 12 "Regulators" attack Chisum South Spring ranch house.
- 5 "Regulators" leave South Spring Ranch.
- 10 (or just previous thereto) Dolan party ransacks San Patricio. Dolan party, including Bob Beckwith and about 35 others, returns to Lincoln from San Patricio.
- 13 (Sat.) "Regulator" warning note issued.
- 14 (Sun.) McSween and "about 40" men reach Lincoln.
- 15 (after dark) Dolan and "about 15" men ride into Lincoln "shooting and yelling."
- 15 (Mon.) South Spring raid — fight with Deputy Marion Turner.

- 14-19 (Sun. through Fri.) "THREE DAYS' BATTLE."
 15 (Eve.) Daniel Huff dies of poisoning.
 17 (Wed.) Firing subsides.
 18 (Thur.) Dr. Appel visits Lincoln in response to letter from Capt. Baca to Dudley asking protection.
 Ben Ellis (in corral at his home) shot in neck.
 (probably) Cullens killed.
 19 (Fri. 10 A.M.) Dudley arrives in Lincoln with "troops and 2 pieces of artillery."
 Dr. Ealy and family removed to Fort Stanton in Army ambulance and restricted thereafter from communicating with outsiders.
 McSween, Beckwith, Bowers, Harvey Morris, Vincente Romero, and Francisco Zamara, etc., killed.
 20 (4 P.M.) Troops leave Lincoln for Fort Stanton.
 Ealy family and Mrs. Shield escorted to Ft. Stanton.
 Kid emerges as sole leader of remnants of anti-Dolan forces.
 19 to Sept. 30 Capt. Carroll's investigation at Roswell — earliest day John Selman known to be in Pecos Valley.
 23 Chas. Crawford dies at Fort Stanton Hospital from gunshot wound in left hip.
 28 Grant County Herald reports telegram from Mesilla that Kid Antrim was one of the parties killed in recent fight at Lincoln.
 28 Military Court at Ft. Stanton reviews July fight at Lincoln.
 29 Ealy family leaves Ft. Stanton in military ambulance.
 Lincoln County Grand Jury indicts Marion Turner and John Johns for murder of McSween, etc.
 Widenmann "lying low" in Silver City.
 30 Protective military guard withdrawn from Baca's house.
 31 Chisums reach Bosque Grande en route to refuge on Canadian.
 Aug. — Capt. W. A. Johnson killed by father-in-law, H. M. Beckwith, who is shot in face by Wallace Ollinger.
 — Lew Wallace appointed Governor.
 — Pat Garrett reaches Fort Sumner for first time.
 Aug. 1 Protective military guard reassigned to Baca's house.
 Protective military guard remains at Mrs. Brady's home.
 3 Ealy party, including Mrs. McSween (ill) reach Las Vegas.
 3 Godfroy requests return of military guard to Agency account proximity of Henry Brown and Kid "who intend to kill" him.
 — J. C. Lea acquires by purchase Smith and Wilburn's Roswell property.
 5 (Mon.) *Morris J. Bernstein killed* at Mescalero Indian Agency.
 13 Billy presents Indian memento to Sallie Chisum at Bosque Grande.
 17 Wm. Johnson killed by Hugh Beckwith.
 18 (Sun.) Kid, O'Folliard, Waite, Middleton and Brown join Bowdre and Scurlock at Fort Sumner.
 Dolan "posse" removes all 200 cattle from Tunstall ranch. Thomas

Gardner asks military protection for the Seven Rivers section, "full of men of the worst class."

Guard withdrawn from Baca house.

Military receives report of formation of parties at Puerto de Luna and Fort Sumner to plunder Lincoln County.

Peppin in hiding in slaughter house at Fort Stanton.

Mid-Aug. Baca, Kimbrell, José Montaña and Florencio Gonzalez petition governor for military protection.

22 Billy presents Sallie Chisum with "2 candi" at Ft. Sumner.

Fall J. C. Lea visits Fort Stanton and secures Capt. Carroll and a company of colored soldiers for Roswell.

Sept. (circa) Mormon farmers abandon homes and leave country.

Sept. 1 (Sun.) Kid and party visit Lincoln to assist Scurlock and Bowdre to move families to Fort Sumner.

2 (7:30 P.M.) Shield ordained in Presbyterian service at Anton Chico.

6 "Wrestlers" "60 to 80" strong stage raid and kill one man.

7 Bowers and Smith steal 15 horses from Fritz ranch.

10 (Tues.) Kid raids Fritz ranch on Bonito 8 miles east of Lincoln.

11 (Night) Kid camps with Chisum party 15 miles N.R. of Ft. Sumner.

Mid-Sept. Widenmann in Santa Fe.

Kid's encounter with Jack Long at Ft. Sumner.

16 H. M. Beckwith, suffering from gunshot wound in face, discharged from Fort Stanton Hospital, delivered as a prisoner to deputy sheriff.

17 (Tues.) Mrs. McSween leaves Lincoln for Las Vegas.

17 John Selman and party kill Gregorio Sanchez.

— Chapman commences practice of law at Las Vegas.

25 Wallace leaves Crawfordsville for Santa Fe.

28 "Wrestlers" kill 2 sons of Chavez, also a third man.

Nine "Wrestlers" visit Fort Stanton to buy ammunition; Dudley refuses permission; they break up saloon of Hudgens, owned by Catron, called a "brewery" located just outside reservation. Party led by Gunter or Irwin.

29 Dolan leaves Fort Stanton for Santa Fe.

30 (Mon.) Murphy reaches Santa Fe from Lincoln.

(9 P.M.) Wallace reaches Santa Fe from Trinidad by buckboard.

Oct. 1 (Approx.) Kid raids Grzelachowski Ranch; Bowdre sells interest in stolen stock and hires out to Pete Maxwell; a native posse overtakes but does not challenge Kid's party which disposes of stock at Tascosa; Middleton, Waite, and Brown part from Kid and O'Folliard who return to Fort Sumner.

(Through part of Feb. 1879) Capt. Carroll's detachment on duty in Pecos Valley.

2 Wallace wires Schurz he has relieved Axtell.

— Young Sanchez killed by desperadoes.

- 3 "Wrestlers" rape women at Bartlett's Grist Mill, 11 miles from Fort Stanton.
- 7 President Hayes' proclamation on Lincoln County troubles.
- 8 Probate Judge Florencio Gonzales and other Lincoln citizens petition Wallace for protection.
- 10 58 Lincoln County citizens petition pardon for Ramon Winters, charged with burglary.
- 10 Two men, said to be "Wrestlers" killed, reportedly by party led by Patrón on road between Lloyd's Crossing and Fort Sumner.
- 11 Wallace in Cimarron.
- 16 "Wrestlers" rape two women at ranch.
- 19 65 horses stolen from Jicarilla Apaches. 5000 sheep stolen by 7 Americans near Capitan Mt. Small number of cattle stolen near Tularosa.
- 19 Post Office at Roswell; Lloyd's station and Seven Rivers abandoned.
- (Sat.) *Murphy dies*, aged 47.
- (By his own account) Gildea arrives.
- Nov. (circa) Chapman employed by Mrs. McSween and goes to Lincoln.
- (Early) Saturnino Baca returns to Lincoln from Fort Stanton refuge.
- Nov. George Kimbrell appointed sheriff.
- Bristol forfeits Widenmann's bond for non-appearance, Mesilla.
- 13 (Wed.) Wallace issues Proclamation of Amnesty.
- 15 Beckwith, Powell, Pierce, Paxton and others return from hiding, to Seven Rivers.
- 23 (Sat.) Chapman and Mrs. McSween arrive at Lincoln.
- 30 Dudley attacks Wallace in open letter (pub. Dec. 14).
- Dec. 1-7 Chapman posts call for public meeting in Lincoln, Dec. 7.
- 13 Lt. French tries to pick fight with Chapman at Mrs. McSween's.
- Mid-Dec. "Regulators" occupy Lincoln.
- Between 14 and 22 Peppin resigns, declining to serve out term.
- 7 Wallace requests Hatch to remove Dudley.
- Jack Long alias Mont, alias Longmont, and another (said by some to be Bonney) arrested for driving out the mail keeper at Bosque Grande and firing shots into mail station room. Dudley orders release of prisoners from charge of Lt. G. W. Smith; Justice Wilson acquits them.
- 15 Justice Wilson attempts arrest of Lt. French on charge of "assault to kill" by Chapman.
- 20 (circa) Lt. Dawson and 15 enlisted men deliver Lt. French to Justice Wilson (Chapman charge).
- 22 (Sun.) Kid surrenders to Kimbrell and escapes from old L. C. jail. (Authentic Life says surrendered to Kimbrell in Lincoln in

March and confined at Patróns; moved to old jail on March 21st; O'Folliard arrested at same time.)

22 (circa) Dolan, Long, seek refuge at Fort Stanton.

Upson is Postmaster at Roswell for a few weeks; succeeded by J. C. Lea. Dudley "isolates" Fort Stanton.

23 Lt. G. W. Smith of Capt. Purington's company assigned to Lincoln as escort for Sheriff, returning to Fort Stanton Feb. 18, 1879.

1879 Jan. 1 J. C. Lea takes office as County Commissioner.

1 (circa) Widenmann reaches London.

20 (circa) Chapman leaves Lincoln for Santa Fe.

Feb. 1 Peppin relieved from duties as "figurehead" sheriff.

Kimbrell receives at Lincoln warrant issued May 10 for arrest of Bonney on charge of murder.

5 (circa) Wallace returns from Trinidad with family.

5 to 25 Capt. Carroll's detachment searches for Tunstall cattle near Pope's Crossing on Pecos.

7 Peppin's commission as U. S. Deputy Marshal cancelled by John Sherman.

12 (Wed.) Chapman leaves Las Vegas for Lincoln.

18 (Tues. A.M.) Dudley sees letter from Bonney, alias Kid, to a Dolan adherent, regarding establishment of peace.

(10 P.M.) *Chapman killed* by Dolan, and/or Campbell and/or Evans.

19 J. P. cases against Dudley, Peppin, and Long dismissed.

Sheriff Kimbrell and "all male citizens then in Lincoln" petition for troops.

20 Sheriff Kimbrell requests Lt. Goodwin to supply six soldiers as posse to arrest Bonney charged with murder. Granted 23rd.

26 (just prior to) Dudley by invitation attends meeting of Lincoln citizens and receives petition, for stationing soldiers at Lincoln, signed by adherents of both factions. Sees written agreement of peace between Dolan and Kid.

Hatch orders Lt. Goodwin to arrest at Carrizozo, Campbell, Mathews, and Evans, for Chapman murder, and Sgt. Israel Murphy to arrest at Las Tablas near Coghlan's Ranch, Kid and Thomas O'Folliard as accessories.

Mar. 1 Wallace and Hatch leave Santa Fe for Lincoln County.

Hatch instructs Dudley to place his command under orders of Gov. Wallace.

Book Reviews

Cuentos Españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo Méjico. By Juan B. Rael. 2 vols. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1957. Pp. Vol. I., xvi/559, Vol. II., xv/819. Bibliography. \$10.00.

In 1946 Aurelio M. Espinosa's monumental work *Cuentos Populares Españoles* was published and set a goal for other scholars interested in Spanish folklore. Now, eleven years later, Juan B. Rael, colleague and former student of Espinosa's, reaches another high goal and makes an important contribution to Spanish folklore studies with his *Cuentos Españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo Méjico*.

The collection, a two volume work, contains 518 tales collected by Rael in Colorado and New Mexico in 1930 and 1940. Although some tales had been published in the *Journal of American Folklore*,¹ this is the first publication of the complete collection. The great number of variants of well-known tales and tales appearing in print for the first time make the work an invaluable aid to the folklore scholar, especially for comparative studies.

Classified according to Espinosa's *Cuentos Populares Españoles*, the types of the tale in the collection range from the riddle, moral, animal and magic to the picaresque and cumulative. All are verbatim transcriptions from the lips of 98 Spanish-speaking informants, mostly inhabitants of small communities of Colorado and New Mexico, and reflect the Spanish cultural heritage which is still preserved by them.

Cuentos Españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo Méjico is a collection and does not make a pretense of being anything else; nevertheless, Rael makes the work of greater value by

1. Juan B. Rael, "Cuentos españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo Méjico," (Primera Serie), *Journal of American Folklore*, LII., 205-206 (July-December, 1939), pp. 227-323.

And

Juan B. Rael, "Cuentos españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo Méjico," (Segunda Serie), *Journal of American Folklore*, LV., 215-216 (January-June, 1942), pp. 1-93.

giving English summaries and comparative notes on each tale at the end of Volume II. He gives the most important data such as type numbers according to Aarne-Thompson, Espinosa, and Boggs' studies. Parallel tales found in other Spanish material are noted.

It is unfortunate that in Volume II., mispagination and misprint occur. "La piel de pulga" (313), which begins on page 326, continues on page 331 and ends on page 334. "El peladillo" (314), which begins at the bottom of page 329, continues on page 327 and ends at the top of page 329. In the bibliography under the entry on J. M. Espinosa, a misprint in dates is obvious: 1973 for 1937.

The mechanical errors mentioned, however, do not detract from the value of the collection. Rael's work is definitely a milestone in Spanish folklore studies and a must for the serious student of the folktale.

Texas Western College
El Paso, Texas

SOLEDAD PÉREZ O.

Massacre: The Tragedy at White River. By Marshall Sprague. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957. Pp. xviii, 364.

If the author had given his book the title "Incidents That Occurred in, Or That Can Be Related to the History of Colorado During the 1870's and 80's, particularly as it might pertain to the Ute Indians and more particularly the Meeker Massacre in 1879, with Biographical Sketches of Important Participants," it would have been easier for me to have reviewed this book. A remarkable job has been done of ferreting out these interesting incidents. They have been examined closely and reported well.

To indicate the time and effort that Marshall Sprague put into the preparation of the manuscript, and of himself to become familiar with the geographical area in which the events took place, let me quote directly from him: "I covered the fringe country east of the Rockies from Santa Fe through Taos, all up and down the San Luis and Wet Mountain Valley,

the various Colorado parks and old Ute camps around Colorado Springs. My wife was with me on all these trips which covered many thousands of miles in our station wagon. We are great fishermen and always had our fishing and camping gear along. We caught fish in the White River and most other streams mentioned in the book. My wife did most of the driving and I took notes. We spent several beautiful fall days picnicking and strolling around the battleground of the Thornburgh fight and made a point of being there on September 29 to have an approximate idea of what the weather may have been like in 1879 at that date. We spent weeks in and around Meeker, and a week at Greeley going over Nathan Meeker's home and habitat. For a solid winter I drove 75 miles one day a week to do research in the State Museum library and archives in Denver. We spent a week in Washington, D.C., combing the National Archives for other data. In matters of fauna and flora, nothing is mentioned in the book which we did not observe ourselves in the way of birds, animals, flowers, trees, bushes, geology and weather. We loved the country, and I hope some of the beauty we felt comes through to the reader."

Since the title of the book may lead the reader to expect a concentrated treatment of the Meeker Massacre itself, I should warn him that some sifting will have to be done to separate the material actually pertaining to this event from the balance of the information that the book contains. As a historian, one could question certain characterizations given and certain answers arrived at. As an ethnologist, one would urge greater caution in the conclusions reached. As a general reader, in the pursuit of information and pleasure, one would sit back and enjoy the accounts given.

This is certainly not the definitive work on the Meeker Massacre or the period in which this event occurred, but there is information included here which is not easily available elsewhere. Therefore, I would recommend that the book be acquired by persons doing research in the area, as well as the general reader.

The Journal of Captain John R. Bell, Official Journalist for the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820. Edited by Harlin M. Fuller and LeRoy R. Hafen. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957. Pp. 349. Index.

The expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1820 under the leadership of Major Stephen H. Long was a major Federal government project for exploration of the Louisiana Territory. Captain Bell was designated the official chronicler of the expedition. His diary is now published in full for the first time with limited but adequate annotation by the editors, with most attention to the part that deals with the trans-Mississippi region.

Bell prepared his journal at the end of the trip from notes taken enroute. He confesses a lack of preparation for the task because of a deficient education. One eloquent passage (p. 177) reveals a talent for writing that would have been welcome more often. Otherwise his style is disjointed and a mild irritation is experienced when a key word is omitted or incompletely spelled. The editors could have interpolated words in brackets without detracting from their aim of presenting an exact copy of the original.

Bell's journal supplements Long's and provides corrections for some errors in geography. Bell's errors in turn are pointed out by the editors. The route of the expedition to the Rockies was "followed substantially" by the later stage coach and the present-day Union Pacific Railroad. The explorers skirted the east side of the Mountain, then Bell led a detachment homeward by way of the Arkansas River while Major Long followed the Canadian.

This journal provides interesting and useful insight to the lives of the Indian folk and the vicissitudes of travel on the plains caused by Mother Nature or the ineptness of man. Captain Bell would not have won a Boy Scout merit badge. The first night of camping under the stars was marred by breaking a hatchet in preparing firewood. Three days later he lost that most useful of articles, his coffee cup.

Information from interpreters and personal observations

describes the costumes and manners of the Indians. Otto Indian chiefs were observed wearing medals bearing the likeness of Jefferson and Madison, an old diplomatic practice of the white man in dealing with the aborigines. The travelers carefully observed protocol in Indian diplomacy and boldly resisted the Indian's tendency toward "thievery."

As volume VI of the publisher's *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series 1820-1875*, it will be welcomed as another item in Western Americana and prove serviceable to scholars in several fields of study.

Fort Gibson was established in 1824 (cf. p. 270 note).

F. D. R.

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